NO Reformation OF THE ESTABLISHED Reformation.

By *JOHN SHAW*, Rector of *Whalton* in *Northumberland.*

GALAT. IV.

It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing.

Qui non zelat, non amat.

LONDON,
Printed for *Charles Brome* at the *Gun* in S. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1685.

NO

Reformation

OF THE

ESTABLISHED

REFORMATION.

TO

The Right Honourable

AND

RIGHT REVEREND

FATHER in GOD,

NATHANIEL,

Lord Bishop of

DURHAM,

His honoured Diocesan.

My LORD,

WHEN I designed the publication of the ensuing Treatise, it was my resolution to present it to your Honour, as once I notified to you, which I have now presumed to

put in execution, though then I had not your expreſs licence to prefix your Honour's name, yet by ſome expreſſions of reſpect, I conceived you would not be offended if I did. Upon this preſumptive allowance as I was encouraged, ſo upon other obligations I was engaged to doe it. I have received high reſpects from your Lordſhip upon ſeveral occaſions and inſtances, which I ought, whenever an opportunity was offered, to acknowledge with all due veneration, neither could I pitch on a more fitter than this, how mean and little ſoever it is. The old Rule was, He who could make no better payment, ſhould readily confeſs the debt; *Reddit, qui libenter debet*, holds ſtill good with

noble

noble and generous Spirits. But this is onely a debt of gratitude and common honeſty, and an argument of good nature to honour thoſe who have deſerved honour: but an higher obligation from a more divine principle is due from an inferiour Prieſt to his Dioceſan. That Order, Let nothing be done, ἄνευ γνώμης, without the permiſſion or conſent of the Biſhop (I wiſh it were better obſerved) is ſo ſtrongly binding, that, I think, every Curate (without offence, I hope, to the greateſt Rectors or Vicars) is to apply himſelf in all doubts and emergent caſes of difficulty to his Dioceſan for reſolution; and all his Clergy ſhould in all publick Undertakings have either his expreſs,

or reaſonably preſumed conſent, eſpecially if they be ſuch as this Treatiſe makes a ſhew of, *viz.* The aſſerting the excellency of our Reformed Church for its ſtrength and beauty, ſurpaſſing all others both for ſoundneſs of Doctrine, purity and comelineſs of Worſhip and Apoſtolicalneſs of Government. A Church for this reaſon, the more excellent, becauſe moſt oppoſed; for as the hardeſt things are the moſt excellent, ſo the moſt excellent are moſt aimed and ſhot at. One ſort perfectly hateth, becauſe they fear her, as long as ſhe holds up her head, they muſt lowr, fret and ſtorm, and never perfect their projects; yet they moſt malign and vilifie her, who by all humane

and

and divine Laws should live in obedience to her. No Church hath had more furious assaults made on her, but her enemies were still repulsed: a Church of that firmness, that the Gates of Hell, even when Satan was let loose, could not prevail against her. This is her comfort, all the Reformed Churches of any good figure give her the right hand of Fellowship, and of preeminence too. The very attempt then to defend this Church is both Heroical and Christian, how weak soever the Undertaker be, he may have and hath a good heart, though his hands be feeble. It is true, *Non eget auxilio tali, nec defensoribus istis*; yet if a Puny manage a Cause under dispute with good suc-

ceſs againſt an old experienced famous Lawyer pleading on the other ſide, he himſelf gains a little eſteem, but its great reputation to the Cauſe; That Cauſe was good which ſo mean a man could defend. This is my caſe, who am ſufficiently ſenſible of mine own weakneſs, but very hearty to defend that Church whereof I have been a Prieſt for full forty eight years, ordained by one of your Lordſhip's Predeceſſours; for this I have ſuffered, and do yet ſuffer in ſome ſort; (ſufferers may have leave to ſpeak) this I will defend, when I can doe no otherwiſe, by Pen, while I am able, yet always and no otherwiſe but *permiſſu Superiorum*, upon which account I tender this addreſs,

begging your Ghoſtly Benediction, and that you will ſtill repute me as,

Right Honourable and
Right Reverend Father,

Your moſt obedient Son
and
Devoted humble Servant,

John Shaw.

PRE-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Begging your Ghostly Benediction, and that you will fulfil requite me as,

Right Honourable and
Right Reverend Father,

Your most obedient Son

and

Devoted humble Servant,

John Shaw.

P R E-

PREFACE.

THEY who understand what Reformation means, need not trouble themselves for a solution to that captious silly demand of the Papists, Where was your Church before Luther? *for to reform is but to amend what is amiss, to correct and rectifie what is faulty, the same numerical subject still existing. Reformation is like the renovation of a sinner,* Eph. 4. 22, 23, 24. *Saul the Persecutour was the same man in kind with Paul the Professour. The Prodigal, who took his journey into a far Country, was the same individual person who returned to his Father's House a penitent. But because Reformation is sometimes necessary, yet at all times dangerous, men being apt to run violently from one extreme to another, jumping over the golden mean; therefore that it be warrantable*

table it ought to be duly circumſtantiated by juſt methods and meaſures, which by the good providence of God, and, I think, direction and guidance of his Holy Spirit, hit on the right way, obſerving all requiſites for the happy management of that great work, when ſhe reformed her ſelf. For,

1. *It was done by juſt and lawfull Authority, the King and Clergy of the Kingdom concurring, as our late excellent King obſerved, ſaying, I am confident to make it clearly appear, that this Church did never ſubmit, nor was ſubordinate to the two Houſes of Parliament, and that it was onely the King and Clergy who made the Reformation, the Parliament merely ſerving to help to give the civil Sanction.* His Majeſty's Second Paper to Mr. *Alex. Henderſon,* Part 1. fol. 165.

2. *They had good grounds to undertake the work; for that there was a neceſſity of Reformation the Teſtimony of* Adrian *the Sixth, and Cardinal* Pool, de Conc. p. 86. *will aſſure; beſides, it was the deſire or pretence of all Kingdoms*

doms in the Weſtern diviſion of the Church; eſpecially by the Emperours of Germany *and Principalities therein.*

3. *That they proceeded with due moderation is declared,* Can. 30. *For we profeſs, as they did, our Separation was not from the Church of* Rome *but its Errours; our Church is the ſame it was before, onely differing as a garden weeded from the ſame unweeded, as the body purged from the ſame unpurged. What they did was to ſeparate the pretious from the vile, the droſs from purer metal. The Church was then like* Jeremy's *Baskets of Figs,* Jer. 24. *there were good, very good Figs in one, in the other the Figs were evil, very evil; ſo in the Church there was on one ſide good, very good things, in another part evil, very evil things; and our Reformers as they caſt out the evil, ſo they were very carefull to retain the good.*

What can we think then of our deſperate Diſſenters, who deſpiſe theſe Dominions and ſpeak evil of theſe Dignities, who have undertaken this work with courage, and perfected it with a happy ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, even to the envy and admiration of the Chriſtian world? Certainly there hath not in any age, in any part of the world, in that ſpace of time, appeared ſuch a race of Kings as our five Reformed Princes, for all manly, Kingly and Chriſtian accompliſhments: neither hath there been a more Clergy-like Clergy than hath been under their Reigns. We can eſteem them to be no other than ſuch as S. Paul, Tit. 3. 10. *notifies to be men ſubverted, that's deſperate, utterly perverted in underſtanding and will, whom the Governour of the Church is to reject, excommunicate him after two admonitions, which if they work no good effect, he is to reject with a ſevere cenſure, take no pains to diſpute with them any more, hearken no more to their Replies and Objections (ſaith* Diod.*) they have by their contumacy and non-ſubmiſſion to their Governours put themſelves into an helpleſs and hopeleſs condition, they have excommunicated themſelves without the Sentence of a Judge (ſaith Dr.* Ham*) there is no hopes of them, and ſo leave them to the judgment of heaven, as hath been accuſtomed.*

What shall we say of half Conformists, conforming Non-conformists, who when they take the fit can come to Church, and attend there by outward Conformity? This will not clear them from the guilt of Schism, bonum est ex integra causa, *and it's to be feared there is hypocrisie in the case; outward conformity may cheat the Law and mock men, but it cannot be an holy, living, acceptable sacrifice to God; because the good works of Faith must be done with a good and honest heart, in sincerity and truth, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned*, 1 Tim. 1. *and every duty must be done with respect to God's Commandment.*

But do you see them come to Church?

Thanks to the King who will have Laws put in execution; but when they come, they come as Countrey-men do to Fairs and Markets, some sooner, some later; and with the same reverence that they enter their Inn, some not at the beginning, or not till Sermon begin,

some

some go out in an hurly burly after the Sermon is ended; this is contrary to the Act of Uniformity, so that this coming to Church is neither Christian nor Legal.

Tea, but many come early, neither loll nor lubber, nor hang down their heads like a bulrush, as too many do, but hold out to the last, and demean themselves, unless sometimes through inadvertency, as the Law requireth.

This is confessed, but for all that it will not denominate them true Members of the Church of England, *because many of them dispute, scruple, deny and undervalue the Authority of the Church, rebell against its Governours, Associate, pack Juries in a design to ruine the Church, and, as opportunity serves, take to a Conventicle, hold correspondence with its professed enemies, familiarly converse with the excommunicated by the Church, and now and then commend them for their piety: nay, we are sure several of these late Conspiratours and Associatours were such as these, all which acted directly contrary to the*

Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, and ſhall theſe paſs for true Conformiſts, who are but counterfeits? do not the groſſeſt Fanaticks reproach and upbraid us with them, when they tell us tauntingly, Take up your Church of England *men? you often declaim againſt us as Traitours and Rebels, but who are ſuch now? Were not moſt of the Conſpiratours ſuch as obſerved and kept the Church? They did ſo, in part, but we diſown them, becauſe we look upon them as the moſt dangerous enemies to the Crown and the Church; being moſt falſe to both by their juggling pretences to them both. Church-Papiſts and Church-Puritans do undermine the Church, whilſt others profeſs an open hoſtility againſt it; but a declared enemy without is not ſo dangerous as a pretended traiterous friend within.*

But what eſteem is to be given to new Converts?

Thanks to the King again, my Lord Chief Juſtice, and the Reverend Judges: we have old Converts too, if they prove not better than moſt of them have done

we have no great reaſon to conſide in them. If the new be Converts indeed, they are to be treated with all civility and by love without all diſſimulation; to be entertained and welcomed with the ſame rejoycings and careſſes the Father ordered for his penitent Son; to lay them on our ſhoulders as the Shepherd his ſtray Sheep, becauſe we have found what was loſt: yet this we cannot either with prudence or ſafety project till we have good ſecurity for their ſincerity. Let the old Converts be as forward and active for the ſervice to the Crown and Church as they have been for the Ordinances of the Junto's, *Keepers and* Oliver, *as reſpective to the Epiſcopal Clergy as they were to the Presbyterian, Trimmers,* &c. *then welcome good Friends, if not, adieu; but for this we need not look into their hearts, they may be known by their fruits and overt Acts: Let the new bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, promote the concerns of the Crown and Church, as faithfully and ſtrenuouſly as they have of the Faction, of Conventiclers and Aſſociatours, let them come and welcome; but if they croſs or retard*

the

the King's ſervice, and daily in their duty, good night to them alſo.

What is your opinion of thoſe learned men, who think there is no determinate Government of the Church?

I do not like a walking Church; but for this Mr. Alexander Henderſon *in his Second Paper, thinks that is built on a ſandy foundation which is not built upon the foundation of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and all they doe ſo, who content themſelves with the Conſtitutions of the Church, and munificence of Princes. I deſire them to ſatisfie his late Majeſty's* Quære, *How can it be made appear, that our Saviour and his Apoſtles did ſo leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter its Government at their pleaſure? I think if we once think of an ambulatory Church-Government, at the next turn we muſt expect an ambulatory Creed.*

Laſtly, Whereas we have had four ſucceſſive excellent Princes to maintain the Reformation, and many Parliaments too, and one King with his Clergy thought

it a neceſſary duty to reform this Church, its therefore the indiſpenſable duty of their Subjects to conform; not barely becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by their authority, though that is neceſſarily required, but alſo from the nature, reaſons, excellency and goodneſs of the eſtabliſhment it ſelf, which to evidence is the deſign of the following Treatiſe, both in regard of it ſelf, and in compariſon of other late Models, both à priori *and* à poſteriori; *which if I have ſufficiently cleared to the ſatisfaction of any conſidering men who are willing to be convinced or confirmed; I have done one part of a Chriſtian Prieſt of the Reformed Catholick Church of* England.

ERRA-

No Reformation

OF THE

Established Reformation.

EVER since the Reformation was happily compleated in this Kingdom, there hath been a great noise and bustle for a better in the chief Materials and Superstructures thereof. It is confessed, Doctrine, Worship and Government are the Essentials of a regularly constituted Church, each of which hath been impugned, traduced and defamed. The Doctrine hath been least debated, though too much; the Worship hath been more scrupled, and with great heats opposed; the Government most of all canvassed and bandied against. Upon which accompt, this, being most contemned by all Sectaries, and least respected by many who re-

tain a kindneſs for the Doctrine and Worſhip, is firſt to be reflected on; where it will not be amiſs, before that be conſidered, to premiſe ſomething in general relating to all and every of the conteſted particulars.

CHAP. I.

Sect. 1. MAny things conducing to the well-being of a regularly formalized Church may be and are in their kind alterable, which yet (as Mr. *Calvin* obſerves, *nec ſubinde, nec temerè, nec levibus de cauſis*) ſhould not be altered. Conſidered preciſely in themſelves they may, but if the reaſons of their Conſtitution be regarded, they are, *practicè & moraliter*, unchangeable. Theſe terms are borrowed from a great Jeſuit, yet made uſe of by ſeveral reformed Divines in ſeveral important inſtances, and approved by them for this reaſon, becauſe the firſt reaſon of their origination is moral and perpetual. Thoſe of this nature being not merely occaſional

ſional temporary Proviſo's, which often vary, either upon ſome ſudden unexpected emergent, or for the avoidance of ſome greater evil, but were ordained for the great end of Chriſtian Society, and in the ordination founded on the general rules of the Goſpel. Whereupon with the Greeks they paſſed as Θεῖοι Νόμοι, *Divine Conſtitutions* for their ſerviceableneſs to the great Concerns of publick Religion; with the Latins, as *Divina Magiſteria, Divinæ Diſpoſitiones, & Divinæ Sanctiones, quæ publicâ Lege celebrantur, quas univerſa Eccleſia ſuſcepit.* Mr. *Calvin* ſaith of them, *Sic ſunt humanæ ut ſimul ſunt divinæ*, which (if I underſtand aright) hath this clear ſenſe, They are humane in their compoſition, but divine in their foundation, and reaſon of their Conſtitution.

Sect. 2. To attempt a ſecond Reformation will be a great reproach to our firſt Reformers, who confeſſedly were men of great learning, piety and zeal. For if they failed in their undertaking either through ignorance, oſcitancy or intereſt, it will be readily

concluded they designed onely a Change, and endeavoured an innovation, which at once blasts their reputation, and justifies all the imputations of their Romish Adversaries, who impeached them of novelty and Schism; And if we set upon a new refined Reformation, as their former charge will hardly be evaded, so with difficulty will we solve their latter Objections, *viz.* Protestants have no Principles, or, which is as bad, are so given to change they will not stand to their principles; whereas if we maintain the Reformation to be onely a Reduction of affairs to the primitive Apostolical and Catholick order and state, we do not onely thereby render a second Reformation unpracticable, but also invalidate all the Romish contumelies and calumnies. This was the avowed profession of our first Reformers, they would onely retrieve the Primitive Christianity, and settle this Church according to the Catholick Pattern, concluding all other methods of Reformation to be irrational and schismatical. Bishop *Jewel* in his famous Apology, *p.* 176, 177. fully declares it, *Accessimus quantum potuimus*, asser-

aſſerting the whole and every main part to be Apoſtolical and conſonant to the judgment and practice of the ancient Catholick Biſhops and Fathers. This Apology not onely *Peter Martyr* in his Epiſtle prefixed to it, but alſo the learned Divines of *Tigur*, *Bullinger*, *Gualther*, *Wolphius*, &c. have ſo highly approved, that they reſolved, no Book extant in the Proteſtant cauſe was comparable to it. Other eminent Tranſmarine Divines might be mentioned, yea a Jeſuit in his Pamphlet againſt Mr. *Chillingworth* hath confeſſed, that of all other courſes in the Reformation that which the Engliſh followed was the moſt effectual for the eſtabliſhment of our Religion againſt the Romiſh Church. The more ſhame for a preſumptuous *Ignoramus* publickly to remonſtrate, We might as eaſily perſuade the modiſh Ladies of Court and City to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Ruffs, as to gain him and his rabble to be content with her Settlement of Religion.

Sect. 3. This Church being thus Reformed, and reſtored to its primitive ſtrength and ſplendour, to move for a

ſecond Reformation diſſonant therefrom is in effect to renounce the Communion of the Primitive Catholick Church; with which all ſucceſſive Churches ought to hold (as near as poſſibly they can) a perfect correſpondence, and where this cannot be obtained, by reaſon of ſome croſs circumſtances to reflect upon it as an infelicity. The reaſon hereof is obvious; for the primitive and ſucceſſive Churches are but one Body, having the ſame dependencies upon, and relation to the one Lord, one Faith and one Baptiſm; and the Catholick viſible Church and every regularly conſtituted particular Church is an organized Body, having ſeveral Members for ſeveral Offices, all which conſpire for unity, that there be no Schiſm in the Body, which certainly would happen, if ſucceſſive Churches obſerve not the ſame Laws and retain not the ſame Government, which the primitive maintained: For that which maketh the Church one, is the unity of theſe; and that which diſtinguiſheth one Body or Society from another is the diverſity of Laws and Government, and

ſo

ſo long as the ſame Laws and the ſame Government are in force, the Body is ſtill the ſame. Now as Jeſus Chriſt is the ſame, yeſterday, and to day, and for ever, ſo is his Church, which at firſt was embodied into an indeterminable Society. For the Scripture aſſures us the Church is a Body, and that Body whereof Chriſt is the Head, *Col.* 1. 18, 24. *Eph.* 4. 11, 12, 15, 16. which we profeſs to be Catholick, not onely in reſpect of perſons and place, but alſo of time; The Catholiciſm whereof not onely includeth variety of places, and multitudes of men, but is to be extended to univerſality of ſucceſſion. Now evident it is, that all Bodies Corporate, whether aggregate (ſuch as the Church is) or ſole, by their ſucceſſion are immortal as long as they retain the ſame fundamental Laws, and remain under the firſt ſettled Government. If therefore we condeſcend to a new Reformation diſtinct from the firſt Settlement or oppoſite thereto, we deſign a ſchiſmatical ſeparation from the primitive Catholick Church, if we put it in execution we fall under the ſame condemnation we ſentence a-

gainſt the Romaniſts; this being the common Proteſtant Apology, We have departed from *Rome* no farther, than ſhe hath from the ancient Church and her ſelf; and if there were no other reaſon for this our ſeceſſion (as there is, *viz.* That we embraced Chriſtianity before S. *Peter* planted a Church there, and when the Weſtern apartment was ſet out by the Fathers, this of ours had the honour of being one of the Seven Dioceſan or Patriarchal Churches, as well as *Rome*) yet even this would juſtifie our Separation, becauſe it was our duty, to reunite our ſelves to the Catholick Church, all ſeveral Churches being but, *partes ſimulares*, homogeneal parts of the whole. Whereupon it followeth that that Church which keeps cloſeſt to the primitive Catholick Pattern, and holds the neareſt allianee with it, is the pureſt, and that ſeveral Churches having ſuch a relation to, and dependence upon it, neither particular perſons, nor particular Churches, are to act as divided Bodies by themſelves (which is the ground of all Schiſm) but are to teach, and to be taught, and to doe all other Chri-

Chriſtian duties as parts conjoyned to the whole, and as Members of the ſame indeterminable Society.

Sect. 4. Suppoſe we ſhould yield to another project of Reformation, the iſſue will be confuſion and deſolation; for if we may conclude their intentions from their former practices and preſent principles, the deſign is to over-rule or aboliſh all, their way was to ſtrike at all, root and branch; and now they are for removing the Laws. Their courſe of regulation is to raſe the Walls of the City if they can, if not to undermine them. Down with the Church of *England* is the Popiſh Plot, and the direct way to this, is to divide it: All the Papiſt Pot Cannons and Sophiſms could never batter or ſhake our *Jeruſalem* till ſome of the Citizens thereof made breaches in it; Nay the Romaniſts never made an approach upon it, till the Puritans had made an aſſault, theſe gave the other both the opportunity and encouragement to attack it. Tuſh (ſay the Popelings) let us levell this, the Muſhrome Sectaries will either fall in the

ruines

ruines of it, or else into our hands; they have been very serviceable Tools to us in all our attempts, and no doubt will be so on to the end, if ever we effect it, and then we know how to engage their tender Consciences, let it but appear to them (which we will not fail to doe) they can gain by the barter, they (forsooth) have a new light, a new dispensation of Providence, and they must wait on Providence and follow that light.

Sect. 5. What will the consequence of this work be, if it go on? Is it to remove what is established before we resolve where to fix? This were certainly mad work to demolish old Structures before we have advised of the fashion of the new. Perhaps a model is fansied, but are all the Dissenters agreed about it? When they had power too much, and time too long to resolve on a settled way, even then they neither would or could unite, nor ever will or can. This we are sure of, none of the schismatical Parties can have their own ends, unless all be taken away, which crosseth their humours or

inte-

intereſts; and if this be done by violence or by Law, not one of ten ſhall have his own ends, which becauſe they cannot obtain, their feuds will be high till one party get the full maſtery, and then the Plot of Union is marred. But who ſhall be taken into this motion to have the benefit of it? If all, nothing can follow but confuſion without remedy, and ſcandal beyond an Apology; If one onely Party (which yet is unknown what it is) then the others if they dare will ſtand out and oppoſe it; if not, they will murmur and repine, and thus expoſtulate; Why ſhould they be ſecluded Members debarred of the privilege of Comprehenſion? This (ſay they) we can ſay for our ſelves, we were drawn into the Lines of Communication by the perſuaſions and ſolicitations of their gratified Partizans and Comrades, and though they ſay it, have as much promoted the good Old Cauſe. In this indeed we are all agreed, we ſhall never enjoy Liberty of Conſcience till we have power to kill and take poſſeſſion, neither likely to have Free Trade till, without any reſpect to Law,

we

we can plunder and ſequeſter Malignants, and ſhall we who are fully accorded with them be laid aſide? If it be pretended the favoured will give good ſecurity for their good behaviour for the future, (whereof there is yet no evidence) we are as free as they, not doubting to affirm, we are the more ſober and peaceable, in whom there is a more ſweet and gratious ſpirit of love and zeal, and have been more conſtant to their principles than they; For we can prove many of them were active Conformiſts, ſoon after proved perſecuting Presbyterians, then dough-baked Independents, and now again have tacked about, and are Cologueing Compliers. However, if ſome be received into favour and others rejected, there is plain partiality in the caſe, if all muſt be entertained, a downright unaccountable Schiſm follows. But to wave the Perſons to be comprehended, what Things muſt be granted them for an Union? If onely a few (unſatisfactory) alterations be tendered, the project is baffled; we ſhould be as far from Unity as now we are, for then the clamour would be,

be, our burthens are a little mitigated but not removed, our grievances are abated, but not fully ſatisfied, we muſt not leave an hoof behind us when we go out of *Egypt*. If many and great alterations be ſubmitted to, then they triumph in their Conqueſts; they had not onely Providence on their ſide but reaſon alſo and argument; and then we ſhall hear of nothing in Pulpits, Clubbs and Coffee-houſes but ſtories of their mighty Acts, that their Enemies are now under great convictions, that they are the Godly conſcientious, Gods ſecret Ones, and the good Old Cauſe muſt needs be God's Cauſe.

Having premiſed theſe Conſiderations, let us next reflect upon the matters on which this motion of Reformation muſt proceed, and firſt of that which is moſt oppoſed, the Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

CONcerning it, the moſt proper method will be to diſcuſs theſe following Propoſitions.

1. That Church Government is neceſſary.
2. That neceſſary Church Government ought to be one and the ſame throughout the Chriſtian world at all times.
3. That one Church Government is Epiſcopacy, which hath prevailed ever ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity.

Sect. 1. Church Government is neceſſary for theſe reaſons; The Church is a Society which cannot ſubſiſt without it: It is a Body whoſe parts are compacted, each whereof hath its proper Office and Service, it is that Body whereof Chriſt is the Head, who therefore will provide for its preſervation and peace, by placing Governours over it, which *de facto* he hath done,

1 *Cor.*

1 *Cor.* 12. 28. It is the Houſe of God whereof Chriſt is the Lord; who hath reſerved this prerogative to himſelf, to nominate and conſtitute the Stewards of his Houſhold and Family, as he did, *Luk.* 12. 42. hence thoſe commiſſionated by him are called the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God. Therefore for any to exerciſe a power in his Houſe who is not authorized by him, or to reject thoſe powers which he hath entruſted to provide for his Family and rule his Houſe, is a moſt ſacrilegious invaſion and preſumption. This Houſe is his Kingdom too, *Matt.* 13. 24, 31, 33, & 34. Temporal Monarchs, if they have occaſions to abſent themſelves from their Dominions, will always depute and ſubſtitute ſuch as ſhall take care for the preſervation of their Kingdoms in peace and tranquillity; certainly we have lower thoughts of Chriſt than we have of an earthly Potentate, if we can conceive that he having deſigned and formed a Kingdom of Heaven here upon Earth, would at his departure hence be ſo careleſs and inſenſible of its after ſtate and condition, that he would not

make

make sufficient provisions for its due management, stability and perpetuity; especially since we are ascertained this his Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, to continue unto the worlds end, and he hath promised so long he will be with it, *Matt.* 28. *ult.* which he effectually ordered, *Luke* 22. 29. I have appointed you a Kingdom. I who have full authority, for all power is given me, *Matt.* 28. 18. have appointed you as my Embassadours, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. to transact and negotiate the affairs of my Kingdom in all quarters of the world, setting you on Thrones, whereby ye are impowered by Commission to rule under me and for me; and I have appointed all my faithfull Servants to give you double honour and be obedient unto you, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. *Heb.* 13. 17. *viz.* I have actually conferred the preheminence and dignity upon you, (not left my Kingdom at random to be ordered by contingent and infinitely variable votings, not to be new modelled 1536. when Jesuitism and Presbyterianism first peeped out, nor to be reformed to confusion in 1641. nor to receive amend-

amendments in 1648. and a refinement in 1680.) and made a full grant to you and your Succeſſours for ever: what was then demiſed ſtands ſtill in full force and virtue, even the more prudent and ſober of the Sectaries will ſubſcribe to this, there ought to be a Government in the Church, that it continue not as a City without Walls, or a Vineyard without a Hedge, and many of them have ſtood ſtifly for the *Jus Divinum* of the ſeveral oppoſite and contradictory Models.

Sect. 2. It being now proved that Church Government is neceſſary both in reſpect of the appointment of its Head, and from the conſtitution and nature of that Body, it will neceſſarily follow that that neceſſary Government be always one and the ſame, becauſe the Head and the Body is always one and the ſame. If once we admit ſeveral contradiſtinguiſhed Governments we muſt grant ſeveral Heads and ſeveral Bodies. It can never be proved from Scripture God will approve ſeveral Governments in his Church, or that he hath permitted any degrees or orders

of men to alter that which was from the beginning. This is one of the great crimes we charge upon the Pope, that he hath altered the Government of the Church, which will appear to be unjuſt if the Government thereof be ambulatory and *ad placitum*. Article what we can againſt him on this ſcore, if there be no one perpetual determinate Government, he will eaſily abate the impeachment; for he will clear himſelf by this, that he being a Temporal Prince, as well as an Eccleſiaſtical Prelate, hath power upon reaſons of State and Diſcipline to alter the Polity of the Church, if God hath not fixed a conſtant unvariable Form; For if it be arbitrary and precarious, why ſhould any Kingdom or State deny that power to him which they aſſume and uſurp themſelves? In a well-ordered Kingdom, he is not onely a Traitour who diſclaims the *jus Regnandi* of his natural Liege Lord and Prince, but he alſo, who, without any authority derived from him, or contrary to his pleaſure, ſhall preſume to exerciſe any of his Regalities, or powers annexed to and inherent in the Crown; ſo they who

who will readily grant Chriſt to be Head of the Church, yet withall pretend a power to form another Government than that which he obſerved, and ordered in his Church, are formal Schiſmaticks, and Traitours to Chriſt the King of Kings. This is obvious if we reject the authority of the Church, we renounce Chriſt's authority, and if we levell and cathier the Catholick Government, we ſchiſmatically divide and ſo far ſeparate from the Catholick Church; which receives that denomination not onely in reſpect of that Faith, which is univerſally profeſſed, but alſo of the Government, which hath been and is univerſally obſerved. It is true there are many particular Churches in the Catholick, which are diſtinct locally and in a foreign account, but really and morally are onely one, becauſe they all and each of them adhere to the one Lord, one Faith and one Baptiſm, and retain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace. For this diſtinction is not in eſſentials, or integrating requiſites, but onely happens to them upon an extrinſecal and adventitious account, inaſmuch as

it doth not ſpring from any diverſity or contrariety in Faith, Sacraments or Government, but doth onely accrue to them from the diverſity of ſeveral Kingdoms, independent one from another, into which theſe are incorporated. It is true there was ſome diſtinction of Churches before the Kingdoms of the earth were Chriſtian, yet this aroſe upon an accidental reſpect from the reſpective Plantations. There is an ancient Tradition which is probable, that every Apoſtle had his peculiar circuit appointed by Chriſt, whereupon they, ſome ſooner ſome later, diſperſed themſelves into Twelve ſeveral Regions and parts in the world to fix their Plantations: if this be admitted, they were neceſſitated to ſuit their Rules and introduce ſuch Cuſtoms as were moſt proper for the inhabitants and poſſeſſours of their ſeveral Aſſignments; this then will afford a probable reaſon of that variation of Orders and Cuſtoms in the Jewiſh and Gentile Plantations, who were of different tempers and principles, whom the Apoſtles would endeavour to pleaſe, as S. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 9. 19, 20. Now though

though hereupon ſeveral circumſtantial obſervations were taken up in ſeveral places and Provinces; yet ſtill the ſame Faith and the ſame Government in the main was maintained. The Concluſion then is, all the Churches of Chriſt, Primitive or Succeſſive, have but one Lord, one Head, one King, are but all one Body, one Houſe, one Kingdom; therefore they all, *de jure*, are under one Governnment, which what it is, is next to be conſidered.

Sect. 3. That one neceſſary Government is Epiſcopacy or Prelacy, which becauſe it hath prevailed in the Catholick Church ever ſince the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity, is therefore undoubtedly Apoſtolical, and if ſo, then certainly Divine. To demonſtrate this, the method will be to produce the Evidences in order.

Num. 1. Prelacy was founded originally in the perſon of Chriſt, as the true Meſſiah; It was foretold, *Iſa.* 9. 6. the Government ſhould be on his ſhoulders, and this to be perpetual, *v.* 7. and this he founded in an imparity of

Eccleſiaſtical Officers, ſettling two diſtinct Orders for Church Miniſteries, the twelve Apoſtles and the ſeventy Diſciples, which were not empty Titles, but had diſtinct Offices, the former not onely inveſted with dignities above the other, but with power over them; as appears by the Election of *Matthias*. Now Chriſt was entruſted with the Keys, *Iſa.* 22.22. and honoured with the Sceptre, *Pſal.* 45.6. God committing the Government to him as the great Shepherd and Biſhop of our Souls, 1 *Pet.* 2.25. having the Key of *David*, Rev. 3.7. This he ordered by an immutable Law, which neither could expire or be repealed. For all power was given to him both in Heaven and Earth, *Matt.* 28.18. a power not onely to protect but to rule the Church, not onely to rule the Conſciences of its Members, but externally to order and adminiſter it, as a publick Society, a power to rule in himſelf, or by Proxy and Delegates, therefore it follows in the exhibition thereof, that charge, *Go ye*, &c. *v.* 19. without demurr or diſpute; For I have the power to commiſſion you, and do command you

you to execute it; I have received it from my Father thus to exerciſe that power, and empower you, and to it I was ſolemnly conſecrated by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, as S. *Luke* expreſſeth it, *Act.* 10. 38. God anointed *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* with the Holy Ghoſt and with power, which at leaſt imports thus much: As by the ceremony of anointing, God promoted perſons to high Dignities and Offices; ſo Chriſt was regularly advanced to his prelatical Function, to be the firſt and chief Biſhop in the Chriſtian Church, from whoſe fulneſs all others were to receive grace for grace.

Num. 2. Chriſt having performed this Office in perſon, took care that after his Aſcenſion into Heaven, the holy Apoſtles ſhould ſucceed him, whom he ſeparated for this Office, and over and above authoriſed them to depute and ſubſtitute others to keep the ſucceſſion of Rulers. This he conſigned and paſſed over to them, *Luk.* 22. 29. I appoint you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me; Accordingly at the octaves of his Reſur-

rection he both confirmed them, *Joh.* 20. 21. As my Father hath ſent me, even ſo I ſend you, and alſo conſecrated them by that ſolemn Form ever ſince obſerved in the Catholick Church either in terms or words equivalent, *(Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt.)* This fully conferred on them the habitual power which actually they were not licenſed to exerciſe till (as he was) they were authorized by the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and endued with power, *Luk.* 24. 49. which happened ſoon after his Aſcenſion, *Eph.* 4. 11. when he took off this ſuſpenſion, and at *Pentecoſt* ſent the promiſe of the Father upon them, the Comforter, *Joh.* 15. 26. the Holy Ghoſt, *Act.* 1. 8. And ſo they were baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire which ſate upon each of them, *Act.* 2. 3. that every of them might be a reſpective Plenipotentiary in the Adminiſtration of his Kingdom. This ſitting of the Fire upon each of them as it deſtroyeth the Eraſtian Suppoſition (for the Apoſtles were neither Civilians nor common Lawyers, or Stateſmen) ſo it prejudgeth both the Papal and Presbyterian preten-

pretenſions. The Papal, becauſe it ſate not upon one, (S. *Peter*) which might have entitled him to a Juriſdiction over the reſt, but upon each of them, that what power one of them had, all and each of them had. For before, Chriſt had warranted to them twelve Thrones, for every Apoſtle one, *Matt.* 19. 28. as *Camero* hath obſerved, that every one might enjoy the ſame entire authority and ſupremacy. The Presbyterian, becauſe it ſate not upon all as fellow Collegues or Common-council-men, but as ſo many ſingle Perſons, not that they could not, or did not for a time act jointly, but that it ſate upon all and every of them; ſo that the power was granted to them jointly and ſeverally, whereupon when they took their circuits to their ſeveral apartments, they ſeverally exerciſed their Function and Office. *Bullinger's* conjecture is, We have no Canonical Records of the Government of the Church but in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where the Platform is deſcribed and exemplified in the perſon of S. *Paul*, from whoſe example and practice we are to conclude how the reſt of the Apoſtles

Apoſtles firſt planted and then governed the Church, Bul. *part.* 2. *Epit. Tempor. & rerum Tab.* 6. *de Apoſtal. &c.* But evident it is S. *Paul* acted as a ſingle perſon without any dependence upon all or any of the Twelve. Therefore (if this obſervation hold) all the reſt planted and governed ſeverally; if this fail, the ſtate and condition of their employment will enforce it: For if they depended, after the College was broken up, upon any one or the whole Community, they could not effectually have executed their Commiſſion, becauſe upon every exigent, eſpecially when they removed from one Province to another, they muſt have had the conſent of that one, or the whole to licenſe and authorize them, which was utterly impoſſible to obtain. For they then being diſperſed into ſeveral Regions of great diſtance one from another, they muſt give up their work till at every occaſion they had received orders, whether to undertake and how to manage it. Very few or none of them knew where to find S. *Peter*, if they did, they had no Poſt-office to tranſmit and return expreſſes; and the Col-

College after it was diſſolved, never aſſembled again. Impoſſible therefore it was for them to execute their Commiſſion validly under thoſe circumſtances, unleſs each of them had been a Plenipotentiary by the tenour thereof.

Num. 3. As Chriſt inveſted the Apoſtles with this power in a due ſubordination to himſelf, ſo they in virtue of his inveſtiture were to conſtitute others to ſucceed them in the principals thereof. Confeſſedly the Apoſtolical Office was to reſide in the Church for ever. So *J. O. Independ. Catech. p.* 119. and the ordained by them were of the ſame Order with them; ſo *Walo, p.* 43, 44, & 144. upon which account the title of Apoſtles was allowed in Scripture to many of thoſe whom the Apoſtles had ſeparated for the work of the Miniſtery. *Calvin* ſpeaks faintly to the point on 1 *Cor.* 4 9. *Tales interdum vocat Apoſtolos, malo tamen,* &c. yet at laſt he comes off more frankly, telling us plainly who thoſe *(us Apoſtles laſt)* were, *Qui in ordinem Apoſtolicum poſt Chriſti Reſurrectionem aſciti fuerunt.* As *Apollo Sylvanus Piſc.* &c. is very liberal

beral, S. *Paul* gave them this title, *Eo quod eodem munere fungerentur.* Saint *James* was ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by the Apoſtles in the nineteenth of *Tiberius* (ſaith *Blondel* in *Chron. p.* 43.) the next year after Chriſt's Aſcenſion by his account, which, in his cenſure of the Pontifical Epiſtles, he affirms from all antiquity: and *Walo, p.* 20. aſſures us he was none of the Twelve, yet he is called an Apoſtle, *Gal.* 1. 19. which *Blondel, Apol. pro ſent. Hier. p.* 50. thus confirms; Saint *Matthew* the Apoſtle was a Biſhop, and Saint *James* the Biſhop was called an Apoſtle, the Apoſtles as Governours over their Plantations were called Biſhops; and Biſhops with reſpect to the miniſterial Miſſion were called Apoſtles. *Timothy* and *Titus* (ſaith *Walo, p.* 44.) were ſtyled Apoſtles, but in very truth were Biſhops by the ſame right, and of the ſame order, that thoſe are of this day, who govern the Church, and have authority over Presbyters. This he undertakes to prove, *p.* 62. Biſhops hold the chief degree in Eccleſiaſtical Order, as heretofore they did who were called Apoſtles, but the Apoſtles

poſtles and the Presbyter-Biſhops were of a diſtinct Order, as he labours to aſſert from *Act.* 15. 6. 22, 23. in theſe words, *Tunc dicebatur in Conciliis ex utroque ordine compoſitis, &c.* Then it was ſaid of the Council moulded up of both Orders, that of the Apoſtles, and that of the Presbyters, *id. p.*269. This he ſeconds with an obſervation from the Greek Interpreters, *p.* 26, 27. who concluded the Apoſtles were of an higher dignity than the Presbyters, fairly reſolving with them they were ſeveral Orders, *p.* 269. and that Ordination could not be common to both, *p.* 229. Caſt all this together, *viz.* The Order of the Apoſtles was of higher dignity than that of Presbyters, the Apoſtles then were in truth Biſhops, theſe Biſhops had command over the Preſbyters, they were diſtinct Orders, all this in the Age of the Apoſtles, and that Ordination could not be common to both, the reſult will be, there was then a diſparity in Church Officers; the identity of Name will not conclude an identity in Office; Presbyters were under the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, to them, and them onely Ordination appertai-

pertained, which is to assert from Scripture Diocesan Bishops in the Prelatists sense. *Calvin* and *Beza* acknowledge there is a Subordination of many Ministers to one President by Divine appointment, *hoc fert natura, &c.* This we have from nature, the disposition of men requires it. So *Cal. l.* 4. *Inst. c.* 6. *sect.* 8. It was, it is, and ever will be necessary, *ex Ordinatione Dei perpetua*, by the perpetual Ordinance of God there be one President. So *Beza, defen. p.* 153. But hath this President any power? yea a double power, first, *regendæ communis actionis jus*, to govern the common action, summon Presbyters, appoint time and place, and propose matters, *&c.* The second is by authority to execute what is decreed by common consent, *Cal. l.* 4. *Inst. c.* 4. *sect.* 2. But is he not capable of a standing power? yea, he may receive a farther latitude from the positive Laws of men, who, without any violation of Divine Ordinance, may settle it on one man for his life; For either in the days of the Apostles or immediately after, the Episcopal Office became elective and perpetual to one man.

man. *Quod certè reprehendi nec poteſt, nec debet*, Bez. *defenſ. p.* 141. *& inde.* But is not the application hereof merely humane? No, not wholly, *humanum, non ſimpliciter tamen ſed, &c.* I may call it humane, not ſimply but comparatively, without any injury to the Fathers, or ſo many Churches. In good time! The conſectary of this (if I miſtake not) is, to reject this Preſidentiary-power, as ſuch, is repugnant to God's Ordinance, to reject it upon the form of application is an injury to the Fathers and many Churches; It is neceſſary from nature and the Divine Inſtitution, and the fixing of it in one perſon for life, to diſtinct acts and purpoſes, is Apoſtolical either in the Apoſtles Age, or immediately thereupon, and is Catholick ever ſince. Very right, for the conceit of a ſucceſſive annual Preſidency held by turns, is both novel, never any Church for 1500 years received it, and alſo particular, thoſe who after did, are ſo few, that 500 for one have oppoſed it. All antiquity hath avouched ſeveral perſons whoſe names are found in the Scriptures to have been Biſhops. Theſe

names

names following are in the Scripture, and Ancients of undoubted credit have averred them for Biſhops, as,

1. *James*, ſirnamed the *Juſt*, to have been Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; we have *Blondel*'s Teſtimony for this from antiquity.

2. *Timothy* was Biſhop of *Epheſus*, the Poſt-ſcripts (which *Beza* ſaith were to be ſeen in all the Manuſcripts he could meet with) of the Epiſtles directed to him; which if authentick, ſtrongly prove this; if they be ſuſpected, theſe great names will make it good, *Epiph. Hier. Chryſ. Aug. Doroth. in Synop.* who lived in *Dioclesian*'s time. *Euſeb. l.* 3. *Eccl. Hiſt. c.* 4. to whoſe authorities *Bucer. in* 4. *ad Epheſ. Pellican. in* 1 *Tim.* 1. *Zwinglius de Eccleſ.* and *Walo*, as before is cited, have ſubſcribed; but that which fully clears it, is, that the Fathers aſſembled in Council at *Chalcedon* have witneſſed that untill their time twenty ſeven Biſhops had ſucceſſively ſate at *Epheſus* from *Timothy*; where it was granted ſo many there were, though it was diſputed whether all of them in that time were

were ordained at *Epheſus*, or ſome of them ordained at *Conſtantinople*.

3. *Titus* was Biſhop, Prelate of *Crete*, as the Scripture declareth; *Tit.* 1. where the two claimed Prelatical powers are found to be ſettled on him; that of Ordination, *verſ.* 5. in every City of that Territory or Region, and that of Juriſdiction in the ſame verſe, to ſet in order the things that are wanting or left undone, as we tranſlate the words, but ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, may rightly be rendred, Correct things out of order; which ſuppoſeth a power to cenſure, and reform irregularities. The voice of Antiquity is clear here, *Theod. Hier. Chryſ.* the Scholiaſt, *&c.* of both of them we have good warranty for their authority over the Clergy. S. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. beſought *Timothy* to ſend out a prohibition againſt falſe teachers, and he commanded *Titus* ſharply to rebuke vain talkers and deceivers, and if they will prate on, to ſtop their mouths, and to ſilence them, *Titus* 1. 11, 12, 13.

4. *Oneſimus* ſpoken of, *Col.* 4. 9. and *Philem.* 10. was from a Servant to S. *Paul* advanced to be Deacon, *Hier.*

adverſ. er. Joh. Hier. and from a Deacon to be Biſhop, *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 30.

5. *Linus*, mentioned 2 *Tim.* 4. 21. and *Clemens*, *Phil.* 4. 3. were Biſhops of *Rome* by univerſal Tradition. *Diodate* upon theſe words [*my yoke-fellow and fellow-labourer*] notes, The Apoſtle here ſpeaks to the chief Paſtour, who was to reade the Epiſtles directed to him in the publick Aſſembly, *Bidel. Exerc. in Ign. Ep. c.* 3. is very clear. *Clemens* after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, being the onely ſurvivor, alone retained the name of Biſhop, all others being ſtyled barely Presbyters, for which he aſſigns theſe reaſons; Firſt, for that he alone remained of all the fellow-labourers with the Apoſtles; Secondly, becauſe the diſtinction of Biſhops and Presbyters then prevailed. This was in the Apoſtles times, for *Clemens* was Biſhop of *Rome*, *an.* 94. as *Gualt.* reckons in his *Chronol.* when *Simon* the *Canaanite* was living, as *Bulling.* thinks in his *Annot. in Tab.* 6. certainly S. *John* was, for he died not till *an.* 102. the ninth and laſt year of *Clemens*.

6. *Simeon*, named, *Act.* 15. 14. (after his Kinſman *James* the Brother of our

our Lord was martyred) conſecrated his Succeſſour at *Jeruſalem*, *an.* 63, or 64. *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 10. and 16. ſo that for full eleven years he was of an inferiour Order, for ſo many paſſed after the mention of him in the *Acts*.

7. *Dionyſius* ſpoken of, *Act.* 17. 24. was the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*, *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 4.

To theſe may be added *Archippus* Biſhop of *Coloſſ*; *Apollo* of *Corinth*; *Epaphroditus* of *Philippi*; *Tychicus* of *Chalcedon*; *Sylvanus*, *Soſthenes*, &c. but it will be ſufficient to review the Catalogue of the four Patriarchal Sees.

1. After *James*, the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, fourteen of the Circumciſion ſucceeded him, *Euſeb. l.* 4. 5. whereof *Juſtus* was the laſt, who died *an.* 131. which is full twenty years before *Blondel's Ara*.

2. At *Antioch*, after S. *Peter*, *Euodius* was Biſhop till *an.* 98, then *Ignatius* till *an.* 108; after him *Cornelius*, who died before 140.

3. Eight ſucceſſive Biſhops ſate at *Rome* till 140. in which year *Higinus* was conſecrated *Antonini Pii Tertio*.

4. At *Alexandria* five are accounted from S. *Mark*, the laſt whereof, *Eumanes*, was ordained, *an.* 134.

Num. 4. That all theſe had the ſame power which is now claimed by Biſhops is evident from *Rev.* 1. 20. where, as the ſeven Angels of the Aſian Churches are diſtinguiſhed from the Churches, ſo every of thoſe Angels had a power of Juriſdiction in their reſpective Churches to redreſs abuſes. For why ſhould they be particularly taxed for ſcandals and irregularities therein if they had no power to reform and remedy them? It ſeems too ſevere to charge neglects on them, who have no power to take cognizance of crimes and to correct them. That thoſe Aſian Churches were fixed and determinate, diſtinct Churches, the Presbyterians cannot deny, who affirm they were governed by Presbyters; for that muſt needs be a determinate Body which is governed by one or by many. The Independents ſhift (we find here a Congregational Church wherein were many Congregations, many Miniſters, many Believers, many Paſtours) is

is frivolous; for there might, and many ſuch there were, yet theſe might be and were under one Preſident over them in Chief; for ſuch as theſe many are to be found in our Cities where there are Biſhops to rule them, and it is evident that thoſe Prefects were and did exerciſe authority over both Laity and Clergy, from the rule given to *Timothy* by S. *Paul* before alledged. *John Frigivile* of *Gaunt* writ his *Reform. Pol. an.* 1593. wherein he avers, *p.* 64, *&c.* Q. *Elizabeth* maintained the Government and State of the Clergy in *England* as God had ordained in the Law, and confirmed in the Goſpel; for ſaid he, *p.* 14. Though the Apoſtles were equal among themſelves concerning authority, yet no ſooner was the Church encreaſed but different degrees began: S. *Paul* charged *Timothy* (who was Biſhop of one of thoſe Seven Churches) not to admit an accuſation againſt a Prieſt; therefore he might admit or reject an accuſation againſt a Prieſt, and therefore he had Juriſdiction even over a Prieſt. Dr. *Raynolds*'s Conference with *Hart*, *p.* 535. thus ſtates it, In the Church at *Epheſus* were ſundry

Elders and Paſtours to guide it, yet among thoſe ſundry there was one Chief, whom our Saviour calleth the Angel of the Church, (here then is our Saviour's approbation for the Chiefty of the Order) and this is he, whom, afterwards in the Primitive Church, the Fathers called Biſhop.

Num. 5. The Apoſtles having ordained Biſhops to ſucceed them in the Government of the Church, they who were ſo ordained were thereby authorized to ordain others, and ſo on to the end of the world, *Matt.* 28. *ult.* which in the judgment of the beſt Interpreters imports, Though the Apoſtles continued not in their Perſons, yet ſhould in their Succeſſours. That there ſhould be ſuch a Succeſſion is concluded from Scripture, *Act.* 1. 20. muſt one be ordained to take *Judas* his Biſhoprick, which by Divine diſpoſition fell upon *Matthias*, who (as *Euſeb.* reports *l.* 2. *c.* 1.) was one of the Seventy, an inferiour becauſe a diſtinguiſhed Rank to that of the Apoſtles, which ſeems probable from *v.* 21. it being the employment of the Seventy

to

to accompany and attend them. Saint *Paul* appointed *Timothy* to depute faithfull perſons to officiate in the Church, 2 *Tim.* 2. 2. yea ſo great care had the Apoſtles for a Succeſſion, that, as *Clemens* reports, they left a Note, Liſt, or Catalogue of approved men who ſhould ſucceed the preſent Biſhops in each Church.

Num. 6. In the Apoſtles times, certainly immediately after, there were three Orders in the Church, not as *Calvin* (who firſt conjured up Lay-Elders to be his officious Agitatours) recites them, nor as Mr. *Dallee* conjectures, but as they are accounted in the Church of *England*, Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons. Indeed it is very likely there was firſt but one Order, the Apoſtolical or Epiſcopal, the Apoſtles or Biſhops, diſcharging all Church Adminiſtration and Offices. But they having a power entire in themſelves and radically, they were enabled to derive and communicate what they thought fit for the neceſſities of the Church to others: Accordingly the Church increaſing, as it is recorded in the *Acts*,

the Order of Deacons was inſtituted, who were not empowered onely to collect, receive and diſtribute Alms to the neceſſities of the poor, but to higher Eccleſiaſtical Offices. For we find *Philip* both preached and baptized, *Acts* 8. 35, 38. That this *Philip* was not the Apoſtle, but the Deacon; *Calvin* thinketh ſo, becauſe he ſuppoſeth the Apoſtles were not then removed from *Jeruſalem*; *Gualter* is poſitive from the Teſtimony of *Epiph. de Sim. &c.* and all ancient Writers. Certainly Saint *Cypr. ad Jub.* is clear; *A Philippo Diacono, quem iidem Apoſtoli (Petrus ſcil. & Johannes) miſerant, baptizati erant. Beza*, reckoning the Paſtoral Offices and duties, adds, *Sub quibus, &c.* under which we comprehend the Adminiſtration of Sacraments and the bleſſing of Marriage, from the perpetual uſe of the Church, in which particulars, the Deacons often ſupplied the place of the Paſtours, ſo he, *Confeſſ. c.* 5. *Aphor.* 25. This he attempts to prove from *Joh.* 4. 2. 1 *Cor.* 1. 14. with him concurrs *Bull. Fleming. Magdab.* who all received it from *Juſt. Mar. Ambr. Hier. Aug.* the *Greek Par.* and

and *Tert.* who is moſt expreſs, *Dandi quidem, &c.* The chief Prieſt, that is, the Biſhop hath the firſt right of adminiſtring Baptiſm, then the Presbyters and Deacons. How long theſe two Orders continued in the Church is not fully reſolved; Some conceive from *Act.* 14. 23. about *an.* 49. *Claudii Septimo*, the third Order, that of Preſbyter was ſuperinduced; others conjecture not ſo early: however Cities and their Territories ſubmitting to the Sceptre of Chriſt, Presbyters were conſtituted before all the Apoſtles died, yet the Biſhops ſtill reſerved the power of Ordination, and by conſequence of Juriſdiction, as in the Greek Church even to this day. Biſhops alone Ordain, as *Arcud. de Concord. l.* 6. *c.* 4. *ſect. Igitur*, obſerves. Indeed in the Latin Church Presbyters did lay on hands with the Biſhop at the Ordination of a Presbyter, yet this was obſerved, not for its validity, but for its ſolemnity and atteſtation. For the African Fathers who ordered it, aſcribed the entire power to the Biſhop, *Cod. Afric. c.* 55. 80. and even at *Rome* before S. *John*'s death Presbyters were

ſettled

ſettled in ſeveral Pariſhes by *Enariſtus*. *Caron. p.* 44. and therefore we may believe before that the ſame was done in earlier converted Churches. Mr. *Young* in his Notes on S. *Clem.* 1 *Ep. ad Cor.* out of a Book which Mr. *Petty* brought from *Greece* hath this Sentence, S. *Peter* was in *Britain*, καὶ Ἐκκλησίας συνεστήσατο Ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ Πρεσβυτέρους καὶ Διακόνους, *ſettled Churches by laying hands on Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons.* It will not be amiſs to ſuperadd how far the *Waldenſes* concurred in judgment upon this caſe with the Church of *England*, which we find *Parſons* third part of *the Three Converſions of England, cap.* 3. *p.* 44. who relates from *Urſpurg. Trithem. Antomin.* and others that they onely approved three Eccleſiaſtical Orders (at which his tender Conſcience was moved) *viz.* That of Deaconſhip, Prieſthood and Biſhops; which is very probable, for the *Fratres Bohemi*, to continue a ſucceſſion of Biſhops, ſent twelve men to the *Waldenſes* in *Auſtria* to be ordained Biſhops by their Biſhops, which was accordingly done, and *Corranus*, a Spaniard, one of the *Waldenſes* flying thence into

to *England* was retained a Preacher at the Temple, and dedicated a Dialogue to the Lawyers there, *an.* 1574. in the cloſe whereof he maketh a confeſſion of his Faith, where he declares his judgment herein, I hold (ſaith he) there be divers Orders of Miniſters in the Church of God, *viz.* Some are Deacons, ſome Prieſts, ſome Biſhops, to whom the inſtruction of the People and the care of Religion is committed. This we are ſure of, *S. Bernard* complains heavily many Biſhops were of their Communion. This was the primitive Eſtabliſhment, *Conc. Cart.* 3. and 4. *Chal. Act.* 1. for which reaſon *Nazian. in Vita Baſil.* enforms us, that he roſe to his Biſhoprick τάξει καὶ νόμῳ πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως, *By the order and rule of ſpiritual aſcent, one degree after another:* So S. *Hier.* writes of *Nepot. in Ep. Fit Clericus & per ſolitos gradus, &c.*

Num. 7. If S. *Auguſtine's* known and generally approved rule be admitted, then the Order of Biſhops is truly Apoſtolical, becauſe maintained in all Apoſtolical Churches, before any general Council had determined it; And

Ter-

Tert. his *Sorites* will make it good, which was, that is trueſt which is firſt; that is firſt which was from the beginning; that was from the beginning which was from the Apoſtles; that was from the Apoſtles which was inviolably and religiouſly obſerved in all Apoſtolical Churches: *Calvin* ſpeaks fairly to the caſe, and ſo doth *Beza* too, (if their words may be taken who have tricks to eat them in) the former ſaith, the Biſhops of the ancient Church made many Canons with that circumſpection they had nothing almoſt contrary to the word of God in their whole Oeconomy, *l.* 4. *Inſtit. c.* 1. *ſect.* 14. but more fully thus, they did not frame any other form of Government in the Church than that which God preſcribed in his word. The latter averreth, what was then done was done *optimo Zelo*; if ſo, then they did it from warranty either from the Scripture or univerſal Tradition. S. *Hierome* himſelf once ſaid, it was an Apoſtolical Tradition, and when he ſaid it was a Cuſtome, he proved it a good one, becauſe ordered for a good end, as a ſafe remedy againſt Schiſm; and

and an Apoſtolical Cuſtome, becauſe taken in the Apoſtles times, when one ſaid, *I am of Paul*, &c. which happened *an.* 58. The diſparity of Biſhops and Prieſts was ſo religiouſly maintained in the primitive Church, that the Fathers in the Council of *Chalc. Act.* 1. adjudged it ſacrilege to bring down a Biſhop to the degree of a Presbyter, and the Doctrine of parity was condemned as flat Hereſie in *Aerius*, becauſe he poſitively affirmed that there was but μία τάξις, &c. one Order, one Honour, one Dignity, in the Prieſthood. Dr. *Crack Defenſ. Eccl. Anglic. contra Arch. Spal. p.* 242, 243. Biſhops then as they were ſettled in *matricibus Eccleſiis*, the Apoſtolical mother Churches, ſo have been continued in all ſucceſſive Ages without any conſiderable oppoſition for 1500 years, which is ſo ſtrong and cogent an argument to ſome who have not been over-fond of Epiſcopacy, they have reſolved it unanſwerable, ſince, the Order hath been canvaſſed by ſome, yet is ſtill retained either in the Name, or Thing in all the Eaſtern and Southern Churches; generally in the Weſtern and Northern,

refor-

reformed and others, unleſs in two or three petty Aſſociations in compariſon of the reſt, where by reaſon of ſome croſs circumſtances it cannot be obtained, though highly approved and much affected by moſt of their learned men, never diſowned or abominated by any but thoſe whoſe zeal for the good Old Cauſe is immoderate, S. *Auguſtine's* expreſſion, *inſolentiſſima inſania, inſolent madneſs.*

Num. 8. If theſe Structures be built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner Stone, the Fabrick is as firm as Mount *Sion* which may not be removed. For if the Apoſtles did ſettle Biſhops in their ſeveral Plantations, and theſe ſuch as the Prelatiſts plead for, then that is the one neceſſary Government to be retained in the Church. For the Apoſtles being inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, they did then act and order the Church according to his directions. *Ameſius* himſelf reſolves, what is Apoſtolical Stands by Divine Right, his words are, *Med. Theol. l.* 2. *c.* 15. *n.* 28. The Apoſtles were acted

by

by the Divine Spirit no leſs in their Inſtitutions than in the very Doctrine of the Goſpel propounded by word or writing. This he delivers to aſſert the Divine Authority and unalterableneſs of the Lord's day, and will therefore hold here. For if Epiſcopacy ſtand in the Church by the ſame authority that the Lord's day doth, which Dr. *Hammond* hath fully proved, then it hath the ſame Divine Authority for its Eſtabliſhment. This King *James* ſaw, and ſo, *Premonition*, *p.* 44. is very poſitive, That Biſhops ought to be in the Church I always maintained as an Apoſtolical Order, and ſo the Ordinance of God. The Diſſenters, who allow of Church Government as ſuch, have often declared what concerns the rule of Government in the Church by Officers appointed by Chriſt is unchangeable. Now that the Biſhops are thoſe Officers hath been evidenced from Scripture Rules and Precedents, and confirmed by the ſuffrage of a cloud of Witneſſes, who as they accord in their Teſtimonies, ſo were faithfull unto death; ſome whereof were the choſen Witneſſes of Chriſt's Reſurrection; ſome were im-

mediate Succeſſours to thoſe ordained by the Apoſtles; others of the higheſt reputation in the Church, for teſtifiers of Catholick Tradition; all of them had, and ſtill have ſuch credit in the Chriſtian world, that their atteſtation hath ever ſince been reverenced and accepted in momentous matters of Religion, ſuch as the religious obſervation of the Lord's day, the number and integrity of the Canonical Books of holy Scripture, the Baptiſm of Infants, *&c.* Epiſcopacy at leaſt ſtands upon the ſame grounds with theſe, if theſe upon the true meaſures of Piety and Religion be not alterable, neither is it. The moſt learned of the Diſſenters have been forced to uſe the ſame proofs for theſe which we do for Epiſcopacy, when they have not done ſo, they have been baffled in a good cauſe, as hereafter may be exemplified. The Concluſion then is, to attempt a Reformation of Epiſcopacy by its extermination is contrary to the ſure and ſtanding Rules of Chriſtianity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THIS is farther to be diſcuſſed in point of prudence, whether the change or ſtanding thereof will conduce more to the publick intereſt, which may be diſpatched by theſe obſervations.

SECT. 1. They who to the diminution or abolition of Epiſcopacy, have or would ſet up new models of Church Government, are either the Eraſtians, the Presbyterians, the Independents or the Pontificians. The three former were hatched ſince *an.* 1510. the laſt was long of hammering, but was never rightly caſt till *Julius* the Second moulded it at *Lateran*, and of a crackt piece made it whole. Now every of theſe will prefer Epiſcopacy, *cæteris paribus*, before any of the other Platforms but their own eſpouſed Darling, which they would have all to accept, becauſe complying with and favouring their wordly deſigns and intereſts. But ask ſeriouſly any of the more obſerving

and underſtanding men, which of the Claimers they would rather incline to, provided they could not poſſibly procure their own to bear the ſway, they will fairly take to Epiſcopacy.

Num. 1. The Eraſtians will by no means joyn with the Pontificians, becauſe they challenge and uſurp a power to take cognizance in cauſes merely Civil, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia:* Not with the Presbyterians, becauſe they alſo claim the ſame, *ſub formalitate Scandali*, both of them maintain the power both to make and confirm Eccleſiaſtical Laws as originally and radically in their ſupreme Judicatures; the Civil Magiſtrate is onely to execute them, which he muſt doe upon their *Significavit*'s and Writs of Requiſition at his peril, otherwiſe he ſhall be clogged with their Sentences of Excommunication. Nor do they much fanſie the Independents, becauſe they will not endure the Civil Magiſtrate to interpoſe in Church matters, nor have the leaſt ſtroke in externals of Religion. As for the Biſhops, though it be a grievance that they ſometimes meddle

meddle in matters of a mixt nature, yet becauſe they know, that what they act in theſe caſes is by authority derived from the Civil Magiſtrate, according to the known ſtanding Laws, they eſteem Epiſcopacy as the moſt ſafe and expedient form; and ſo Biſhops may ſtand for the preſent, till they can by rebellion graſp again all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical power in their clutches.

Num. 2. Independents utterly diſlike both Eraſtians and Pontificians, and though they can aſſociate with the Presbyterians at preſent, yet they hold no good opinion of them. In a Book entituled, *Saint John Baptiſt*, they heavily declaim againſt them, ſaying, They had eſtabliſhed a *Dagon* in Chriſt's Throne, had ſtinted the whole worſhip of God, *&c.* at laſt it came to this, they had rather the French King, yea the Great Turk ſhould rule over them. In a Book called, *The Arraignment of Perſecution*, they declared, If ever the Presbyterians rule in chief, an higher perſecuting ſpirit would be found in them than they had felt from the Biſhops: *J. O.* hath excellently decyphered theſe. •

Num. 3. The Presbyterians grin at them all. *Beza* is as angry at *Erastus*, *Socinus* and *Morellius*, as the Pope; Mr. *Henderson's* tender Conscience started at the thought of them. The Books are commonly to be had, wherein they oft and sadly complained, all that they could expect for their expences of Bloud and Treasure (none of their own) was to be recompensed with greater grievances, and more dangerous licentiousness (which is too true) than they ever mourned for (which is very false, for most of them were colloguing compliers) under the Government of King and Bishops. At last they cried out, Matters were come to that pass, they had exchanged a bad Religion for none at all. See *Excom.* *Excom. p.* 18. *& inde.* And *Edwards his Gangrene.*

Num. 4. The Papists of all men had the advantage, but the more sober considering men among them, have expressed, That all their purchases of Profelytes were no compensation for those miseries they had sustained,

ned, and ſtill feared from the *Junto's*, and that they were much more happy under the former Government which ſecured their civil Liberties and Birthrights.

SECT. 2. But let it be for once preſumed, that each of thoſe Models had ſomewhat good, yet withall recollect that the Conſtitution of this Church is of ſo excellent a mixture with the choiceſt ingredients, that it will effect thoſe great ends ſo much pretended by them more ſtrongly and obligingly, if it may attain its juſt value and reſpect. For,

Num. 1. The Eraſtians are to be commended for their pretended care and endeavours that the power of the Civil Magiſtrate be not infringed by any Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpation. So far good, if they were not poſſeſſed, or rather pretend onely to be, with fears and jealouſies, that this Church approved ſome principle to the diminution of the Civil Power, which what it is none can with any colour of reaſon conjecture, unleſs this be it, that whilſt

ſhe fully renders to *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſar's*; ſhe is ſtill cautious to reſerve to God the things that are God's. *Eraſtus* the firſt Founder of that Order had no prejudice againſt any thing determined in this Church upon that ſcore, if we reſpect either the motives which induced him to quarrel the Allobrogian Model, or the Arguments he framed againſt it.

The Motives were,

1. He had obſerved that *Calvin* had ſo cunningly contrived it, that he and his aſſiſting Miniſters could upon every occaſion overtop the Stateſmen. The artifice lay herein, he took for a blind onely ſix Miniſters, but twelve Syndicks, yet ſo that the Miniſters were to continue for life, but the Stateſmen to be annually choſen, whereby he conceived theſe changling Officers would be ſo wary as not to croſs the ſtanding Moderatours, which ſo happened, as he himſelf ſignified in his Epiſtle to *Bulling*. *Semper fuimus in iſta promiſcua colluvie ſuperiores, We had always the better in that rifraff Junto.*

2. He

2. He knew thoſe choſen Officers had neither age, or experience, nor judgment, nor manners (a full deſcription of the late Lay-Elders) to enable them to ſuſtain ſo great an employment with credit and honour.

3. He was provoked, that a Male-content Engliſh fugitive had liberty to diſcuſs this Theſis, *viz.* That in every well-ordered Church this Government was to be retained, in which the Miniſters with the concurrence of the Elderſhips ſhould have the power of excommunicating all offenders, even Princes themſelves: Hereupon in a juſt indignation he expreſſed his abhorrence of this bold ſeditious Propoſition, yet with great indiſcretion he cauſeleſly vented his wrath againſt Excommunication as it was a Church Diſcipline.

His Arguments improved by his Followers are theſe,

1. He ſuppoſed Excommunication did totally cut off the excommunicated from the internal and inviſible Communion of the Church; whereupon his Followers argued, If the power of Ex-

communication be in the Church Officers, then it lies in their power to ſave or damn men. But his ſuppoſition is falſe, and the inference of his Followers is wild, as one (and the moſt learned) of them hath obſerved; for, he ſaith, *finis hujuſmodi diſciplinæ, &c.* The end of this diſcipline (not final Sentence) was (is ſo ſtill) that the cenſured being deprived of the ſpiritual privileges of the Church, they might be humbled to ſalvation. This is the whole truth and nothing but the truth, for its onely a barr from the external viſible Society of Believers, not to exclude men from heaven, but to encline them to put themſelves in a capacity to be received again into the peace of the Church, for the enjoyment of thoſe great privileges of holy commerce, which all men religiouſly affected earneſtly deſire and value. A method of Diſcipline which Chriſt and his Apoſtles thought proper to reduce and reclaim ſinners. It is medicinal in Saint *Auguſtine's* expreſſion, *To.* 9. *Serm. de Pæniten. med.* (if that Tract be his) ordained and applied for edification, not deſtruction; if for deſtruction, it

is

is for that of the Fleſh, that the Spirit might be ſaved, 1 *Cor.* 5. 15. or its a Chaſtiſement, the cenſured are thereby chaſtiſed of the Lord that they ſhould not be condemned with the world, 1 *Cor.* 11. 32. which Chaſtiſement is not ſweet or joyous for the preſent, but grievous, yet yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteouſneſs to them that are exerciſed thereby, *Heb.* 12. 11.

2. Excommunication (ſay they) is a cenſure inferring a civil Penalty, therefore if the Church makes uſe of it, ſhe enlargeth her Phylacteries by an encroachment on the civil Power.

But where do thoſe wrathfull Objectours find this? or how can they prove it?

It was always reckoned in the Catalogue of ſpiritual gifts, practiſed by the Church for ſpiritual ends and uſes, and exerciſed upon the members of the Church, *qua tales*, in that capacity onely; if, upon contempt hereof, a civil Penalty was incurred, this proceeded not from the quality and nature of the cenſure, but from the authority of the civil Magiſtrate, who ſo far reſpected

the Church, that he made proviſions againſt the contempt of her Diſcipline. That which the Church aims at, is either to reduce the offender, or to warn others, or to diſcharge her duty in diſcountenancing and diſowning dangerous prevailing Hereſies, Schiſms and Scandals; all which are of ſpiritual concernment and cognizance.

3. The Biſhops claim this power by Divine Right, and why not? Forſooth, this is contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, and ſets up two Supremes in one Kingdom.

This is an high Charge: I am perſuaded if the great Turk was acquainted with this noble Argument, he would in a rage deſtroy all the poor Chriſtian Biſhops in his Empire, or elſe he would ſcorn and deride it, as it juſtly deſerveth. For the Argument runs thus, Miniſters by a Divine Right challenge a power to baptize Proſelytes, communicate Chriſtians, and doe other offices belonging to their Functions, Therefore they ſet up two Supremes in one Kingdom: or thus, The Scripture declareth, the Holy Ghoſt made them Overſeers to feed the Church of

God

God (ſure they may pretend to Divine Right who derive their title from the Holy Ghoſt) Therefore the Scripture contradicteth that Supremacy which it eſtabliſheth. But in ſober ſadneſs! did none of the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, or after Kings underſtand their Religion and Prerogative? did they ever declare the Imperial and Epiſcopal power were incompatible? were they all ſo blind they could not eſpie this ſo obvious an inconſiſtency? or did any of our own great Councils before that of 40. ever make ſuch a determination? As for our own Kingdom, we may without diſparagement to their great wiſedoms, compare many of our Kings with the ableſt of any or all of them; King *Henry* the Eighth was a wiſe Prince, one that would not bate an Ace of his Sovereignty, yet he never ſcrupled at the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy. Q. *Elizabeth* was as jealous of her Prerogative, and as zealous for it, as the higheſt and moſt maſculine Spirit, yet ſhe reverenced and maintained the Order. The greateſt for Learning and Judgment the Father and the Son were as Prelatical as the Prelatiſts.

What

What King *James* his opinion was of Epiſcopacy is before related, what it was concerning his Supremacy, which he cogently aſſerted, he thus expreſſed, *Premonition, p.* 108. It conſiſts not in making Articles of Faith, but in commanding obedience be given to the word of God, in reforming Religion according to his preſcribed will, in aſſiſting the ſpiritual Power (this is to be noted) with the temporal Sword, in procuring due obedience to the Church (mark this too) in judging and cutting off all frivolous Queſtions and Schiſms, as *Conſtantine* did; and finally in making a *decorum* to be obſerved in all things, and eſtabliſhing Order in all indifferent things. King *Charles* the Firſt of bleſſed memory hath above and beyond all others reſolved the caſe, in his anſwer to *Henderſon*'s Papers, in his Reply to the Anſwer of the Iſle of *Wight* Divines, *Rel.* Car. *fol.* 691. and in his final Anſwer, *fol.* 709. Sir *Henry Spelman* in his large Hiſtory of Titles, *p.* 157. thus ſtated it. God hath committed the Tabernacle to *Levi*, as well as the Kingdom to *Judah*, and though *Judah* hath power over

Levi,

Levi, as touching the outward Government, even of the Temple it ſelf, yet *Judah* meddled not with the Oracle and the holy Miniſtery, but received the will of God from the mouth of the Prieſt. This is evident; God, for the promoting of Piety and Juſtice among men, hath ordained two diſtinct Powers, the Regal and the Sacerdotal, which, in the times of the Patriarchs, were formally united, and inſeparably followed the firſt born of the male kind in every Family. This he ſeemed to alter in the perſons of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, inveſting *Moſes* the younger Brother with the Regality, *Aaron* the elder in the Prieſthood, both theſe received their Commiſſions from God, *Num.* 16. Every power is the Ordinance of God, but the Regal as Supreme, the Sacerdotal as Subordinate, which ſubordination is not eſſential or cauſal, but moral, by virtue of God's Conſtitution, and accidental for Order's ſake. Certainly God, who gives all power, can order a ſubordination of powers derived from him, the one to be ſuperiour, the other inferiour; and God was pleaſed to diſpoſe the diſtribution of

of thoſe under the Moſaical diſpenſation, that as the Prieſts were not to uſurp the Regal, (for *Abimelech* was Servant to *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 12. and *David* was Lord to *Nathan*, 1 *Reg.* 1. 24.) ſo neither were the Kings to execute the Sacerdotal Function, but were bound to conſult their Prieſts and Prophets, as *Joſhua* was *Eleazer*, *Num.* 27. 21. by God's appointment, and *David*, did *Abiathar*, 1 *Sam.* 23. 6. We are ſure *Saul*, *Jeroboam*, *Uziah* were ſeverely checked for exerciſing ſuch Acts as formerly belonged to the Prieſts, not that they were debarred from regulating and providing for the due diſcharge of the Prieſtly Offices: for that is a part of their duty, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. and *Ariſt. l.* 1. *Ethic. c.* 13. was herein Orthodox, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς περὶ ταύτην μάλιϛα πεπονῆϑαι, but they are to permit the Prieſts the exerciſes of their Functions, and in matters of Religion to require the Law at their mouths, *Mal.* 2. 7. which all Chriſtian Kings have always granted. Mr. *Hobbs* owneth, that after the Aſcenſion of our Lord, the power Eccleſiaſtical was in Apoſtles, after them in ſuch as they had

had ordained, and ſo delivered downward to others ordained by them, and the great Eraſtian name hath yielded them a power to decide caſes of Conſcience, and to declare what is lawfull, what not; This was reſpectively done, but he fell far ſhort of the mark; for certainly to baptize Proſelytes is a larger portion of power than bare interpreting or teaching the Law, even a power to admit Members into the Chriſtian Society, and in all reaſon, they who have power to admit, have power occaſionally to exclude, hence that Gentleman was forced to confeſs, they had power to bind and looſe, which in Scripture ſignifies to forbid and decree, which is more than any Caſuiſt or Preacher as ſuch pretends to, and is rather proper to a Legiſlative or Judicial Power, which was ſometimes exerciſed by the Church, as when the Apoſtles upon a complaint, where no leſs men than S. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were Advocates for the Plaintiffs, paſſed an obligatory Decree, *Act.* 15. 28. & 16. 4. That Precept or Permiſſion, *(Tell the Church)* at leaſt implies the Church had then power to take cogni-

cognizance of treſpaſſes, and to ſay the civil Magiſtrate is that Church is ridiculous: for then the ſenſe would be, Tell the treſpaſs to *Conſtantine* three hundred years after it was committed, for till then there was no certainly known Chriſtian Emperour, and Chriſtians were not by the Diſcipline of the Church to ſeek for remedy at heathen Tribunals in the firſt inſtance. Now as there was a ſubordination of theſe Powers, ſo there was a diſtinction; the one was the power of the Sword, committed to the civil Magiſtrate, to reward well-doers, and to puniſh evil-doers, of all kinds, *Rom.* 13.4. an Heretick, a Schiſmatick, an Idolater, or Blaſphemer, as well as a Thief, a Murtherer, or a Traitor; and this hath its immediate effect upon the outward man, body and goods, with reference to the concerns of this life, *Ezr.* 7. 26. the other is the power of the Keys, to labour in word and Doctrine, to exhort and rebuke with all authority, to rule well in ſpiritual concerns, to bind and to looſe, 1 *Tim.* 1. 17. *Tit.* 1. 5. *Matt.* 16. 19. the proper operation whereof is upon the Soul with reference

rence to the world to come. There is a difference, ſaith the above cited *Joh. Frig. Refor. Pol.* between Dominion and Juriſdiction; neither the Apoſtles, nor chief Biſhops exerciſed Dominion, but their Offices, having Juriſdiction, *p.* 16. as in *France* (ſaith he, *p.* 17.) the King hath the civil Dominion, the Parliaments the Juriſdiction, ſo in *England* the Queen hath the Dominion, but the Biſhops the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; hence *Ariſt. l.* 10. *Ethic. c.* 9. *n.* 10. reſolves, Legiſlatours are differenced from Practitioners of Faculties, ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις, *&c.* The Profeſſours are to Act, Legiſlatours to preſcribe rules for acting. The King's power is the ſupreme, that of Prieſts ſubordinate, which difference proceeds not from the natural excellency of the one power above the other, but from the all-wiſe diſpoſition of God, who is the chief power empowring, as he is ſaid to be, *natura naturans.* The Biſhops with their ſubordinate Miniſters are the Executours of Chriſt's laſt Will and Teſtament, the King is the Superviſor, and the Judge too, to grant them Letters of Adminiſtration. Biſhops and Prieſts are the

Miniſters of Religion, Kings are the Rulers of it and them.

The ſubſtance of the whole is, the true Sons of the Church of *England* are the ſole Aſſertors of the King's Supremacy, not onely in expreſſions and complement, but in fact and real operation, not upon reaſons of State, or dictates of Prudence, but the rule of Conſcience, which none of the Diſſenters therefrom will allow. Not the Eraſtians, for they play at faſt and looſe with the King's Supremacy, and by diſtinctions and limitations fix it certainly no where but make it as variable as their fortunes. One of the moſt eſteemed Partizans made this interpretation thereof, The King is the ſupreme Governour, but not the ſupreme Power. Gallant Law Sophiſtry, as if it were poſſible he could govern in chief, who had not a power ſutable thereto: The Independents plead an exemption from it: The Presbyterians utterly deny it: Such a Supremacy as the Kings claimed, and the two Houſes of Parliament (Eraſtian-wiſe) craved (indeed at firſt they did but

beg

beg it, which after they plundred) I diſclaim (ſaid *Henderſon* ſecond Paper *num.* 7.) *The true Nonconformiſt* makes it the main work of his Book to charge it with Antichriſtianiſm. The Pontificians perfectly abhor it; The Prelatiſts are the onely defenders of it. The Pontificians make Kings their Churches Miniſters, and Presbyterians make them their Kirk Miniſters, not the Miniſters of God; The Eraſtians and Independents are agreed they are originally the People's Miniſters not God's. The Prelatiſts aſſent with the Law of Chriſt, and the Laws of the Kingdom, the King is God's Miniſter, *Rom.* 13. The Presbyterians and Independents reſolve, the Kingdom is in and under the Church, and then the Government of that muſt be conformed to that of this. If then the Presbyterians be rampant, the civil Government muſt be Ariſtocratical. If the Independents be the maſters of Miſrule, it muſt be Democratical; but if it happen the Eraſtians be the Sultans, then the Game is King and no King; at the beſt he is but their Truſtee, he muſt ſtand on his good behaviour, and paſs his accounts to the Pa-

triots for the contracting good People. If the Pope be the great Cham, the civil Government muſt truckle.

Sect. 3. To bring the matter nearer home, there was a time when the blades of Fortune in 40 thought it prudent to declare they had no intentions for any alterations; It was when the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army had ſcented and followed the Scent very hotly, and when the King had objected the deſigns amongſt them, they formed a Declaration to renounce all ſuch purpoſes, *Aug.* 9. 42. as before they had proteſted againſt it, as a ſlander, and for once ſuch an one as the Father of lies had invented, *Remonſt. Dec.* 41. This was ſmartly urged againſt them by *E. M.* a long impriſoned Malignant, *an.* 1647. *p.* 3. of his Addreſs, I cannot (ſaid he) ſubmit to any new Government, either in Church or Kingdom, becauſe all our late Parliaments, and the Long Parliament moſt of all, have ſtill profeſſed great ſeverity, and made ſtrict inquiſition againſt all men, that ſhould intend, practiſe or endeavour any alteration of Religion, or innova-

tion

tion in Doctrine or Worſhip as a capital offence. But for all their ſolemn proteſtations to the contrary, the Root and Branch deſign went on, and when it was firſt ſet on foot, Petitions were preſented to prevent and ſtifle it. The total of Subſcribers in onely ſeven Counties, and thoſe none of the greateſt, amounted to 482 Lords and Knights, 1740 Eſquires and Gentlemen, 44559 Freeholders, and 631 Miniſters; number enough to ſhew how generally well affected the people of beſt rank and quality were for this Government; but their reaſons are rather to be weighed, which were theſe, by drawing them methodically.

1. They deſire they may be left in that ſtate the Apoſtles ſettled and left in the Church, in that the three Ages of Martyrs were governed by, in that the thirteen Ages ſince have always gloried in, proving themſelves by their ſucceſſion of Biſhops, members of the Catholick Church. A Government as certainly Apoſtolical as the obſervation of the Lord's day, or diſtinction of Books Canonical from Apocryphal, or

that ſuch Books were written by ſuch Evangeliſts, *&c.* This they thus farther proſecuted, either Chriſt left his Church without a laſting Government, which we fear to ſay, leſt it might ſeem to accuſe the wiſedom of the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in not providing for his Family, which we believe he did, from Saint *Luke*'s Teſtimony, *Luk.* 12. 42. and if he left no Rulers, he left no Paſtour, Ruler and Paſtour in Scripture being all one in perſon, office and expreſſion. And if he did not leave ſuch as we deſire, *viz.* Biſhops, the Church (which we fear alſo to ſuppoſe) hath been Apoſtate from her Lord for 1500 years, ſhe having no other but theſe for Rulers for that whole ſpace of time: Or elſe Chriſt did leave a laſting Government, if ſo, then every motion and attempt of alteration is Antichriſtian.

2. Moſt of the reformed Churches have Biſhops, all that have any Proteſtant Princes with Sovereignty, have them, the reſt which have them not, highly approve and value the Order, and heartily affect and wiſh it.

3. The

3. The Removal of Biſhops will be a great Scandal.

(1.) To the weak, who if they be really ſuch, and withall well-meaning, ſuſpect all innovations as ſome deſign upon their Conſciences to enſnare them, which makes them to ſuſpect and diſlike our whole Religion, as we have found by ſad experience; yea the grievous Scandal of our Religion as unſtable, hath cauſed many to reproach it, many to revolt from it.

(2.) To the ſtrongeſt, who are not to be offended for this reaſon, becauſe they are not apt to be ſcandalized with umbrages and impertinences but real inconveniences and miſchiefs.

4. The unſpeakable advantages given to our Enemies of *Rome*, by this change, which in the event proved ſo.

5. The ſad effects and conſequences which we foreſee and in part feel.

(1.) Which we foreſee; We deſire (ſaid they) the continuance of this Government, for that ſtrange fears poſſeſs our hearts, that Schiſms, Factions and Seditions will overwhelm us, order, peace and unity will be far removed from us, reformation and ſup-

preſſion of wickedneſs and vice, as is pretended, will be totally caſhiered, and extinguiſhed, nor will ever take place or effect among us. For we ſuſpect and believe the ſudden mutation of a Government, ſo long ſettled, and ſo well known, cannot with any proportionable utility recompence the diſturbances and diſorders which it may work by novelty, therefore we cannot without trembling and perplexity of mind entertain a thought of a change, and of innovation in a matter of ſo high concernment. For if the deſign go on, we ſhall be reduced to ſuch a deſperate condition, that we ſhall not know how to ſettle our ſelves, or form our obedience in ſuch diſtractions, and ſometimes repugnancies of commands, as will unavoidably enſue.

(2.) What they then felt in part, ſince this Government is traduced and deſpiſed, the Houſes of God are profaned, the Miniſters of Chriſt contemned, the Liturgy depraved, that abſolute model the Lord's Prayer vilified, the Sacraments in ſome places unduly adminiſtred, in others profanely neglected, Marriages illegally ſolemnized,

Burials

Burials uncharitably performed, and the very fundamentals of our Religion by the publication of a new Creed, teaching the abrogation of the moral Law, (All the Religion we can hope for muſt be a movable Creed, repealable by privileges, and to be made ſuitable to the deſigns of any prevailing Faction) whereby God is provoked, his ſacred Majeſty diſhonoured, the Conſciences of the people diſquieted, the Miniſtery diſheartned, and the Enemies of the Church emboldned in their enterprizes.

6. We cannot hearken to ſuch a change, becauſe for many years we have found the comfort and benefit of Epiſcopacy, which as it hath been eminently ſerviceable to this Kingdom, ſo it is moſt compliable with the civil Government (into the Fabrick whereof it is incorporate) that we muſt conclude it as the moſt pious, ſo the moſt ſafe and prudent. Wherefore to call it a Vaſſalage and intolerable burthen, and thereupon to endeavour its removal, reliſheth not of piety, prudence, juſtice or charity. This we are the rather induced to preſent, both becauſe

our

our Fathers have told us of the great convenience and moderation of this Government, and we have felt the comfortable experience thereof. Certain it is this Kingdom is much indebted to the Biſhops for their piety, wiſedom, zeal and ſufferings, which we truſt ſhall never be forgotten. Thus far they.

It may not be amiſs to ſubjoyn the later opinion of a great name with the Eraſtians, who once indeed had declared before, he was no ſuch fool as to be a Puritan, yet it is well known how, *&c.* but at laſt was forced to expreſs his great eſteem of Catholick Order. The words are reported, *Fair Warning*, *Part.* 2. *p.* 4. and thus are ſet out, It is a wonderfull thing, that, *&c.* after that paſſage, he gives his opinion, I ſhould much fear that our moſt excellent Religion, ſo miſerably confounded by its diſtracted followers, would one day give place to the two grand miſchiefs of the world Popery and Profaneneſs, againſt which there are no other remedies beſides the mercifull aſſiſtence of heaven, than ſound Doctrine ſettled, ſevere Diſcipline eſtabliſhed, a decent

and

and holy Worſhip ſecured, and a grand eſtabliſhment enjoyn'd, which may fence in truth and virtue, and keep out errour and ſin, whereby the Orthodox good part of the Nation may be known and encouraged, as the Heterodox may be diſcovered and awed.

SECT. 4. The little good which can be expected from Presbyterianiſm and Independency is, that the Profeſſours of the one Sect pretend great zeal againſt Ignorance and Sin, and the other is aggrieved at promiſcuous Communions, though both of them, by their barkings and bawlings againſt this Church, and the Diſcipline and Government thereof, have and do ſtill obſtruct the methods which ſhe hath provided as remedies againſt thoſe maladies. Now that thoſe Offices which ſhe hath determined for thoſe ends, are proper and very inſtrumental, through the aſſiſtence of the Divine grace, which accompanies and inanimates them to devoutly affected Chriſtians, moſt effectual thereto, they will be neceſſitated to acknowledge, by obſerving the Order preſcribed, which lies thus.

Every

Every Infant is to be ſolemnly matriculated into the Church by holy Baptiſm, theſe baptized in a competent time are to be catechiſed in the principles of Chriſtian Religion, and then to be confirmed by the Biſhop, and are required to give attention to the reading and preaching of the word of God. Being thus prepared, they are admittable to the great myſtery of the holy Euchariſt, and for neglect of theſe means the offenders are liable to the cenſures of the Church. That theſe methods are Scriptural, and Apoſtolical moſt of the Diſſenters acknowledge; ſome of them indeed ſcruple at Confirmation, but *Calvin* conceives it to be originally Apoſtolical, with whom more than a whole Jury of reformed Divines have given in their Verdict. Mr. *Baxter* thinketh it would quiet the wrangle about the formality of a Church Covenant and Memberſhip; Mr. *Brinſley* of *Yarmouth* was of opinion it would remove all the fears and jealouſies of vain Diſputers: *Calvin* is poſitive this office was performed by the Biſhop from the beginning, and Mr. *Dallee* commends that of S. *Hier. Epi-*

Epiſcopus, &c. in Dial. inter Orth. and *Lucef.*

In this I blame the Presbyterians and Independents, becauſe at preſent they hang together by the tails, but for all the fair copies of their Countenances, if their wiſhed and laboured for turn come, their faces will look ſeveral ways. If the Presbyterians get the ſtart, and keep their ground for a while, they will ſoon proclaim the Independents to be Babylonians; If the Independents once more out-wit the Presbyterians, and turn them out of power and truſt, then the Independents will face about, and tell them roundly they are Egyptians.

Sect. 5. As for the Papiſts, the beſt they can brag on is their unity, of which they rant highly, that they, and they onely have found out the true way to it: this is a mere bravado to which a wiſe and learned perſon made heretofore this return *(viz.)* Let me ſee the Jeſuits and Seculars reconciled in *England*, a Dominican and Jeſuit in Doctrinal Papiſtry, French and Italians in ſtate Papiſtry, then I ſhall allow

low them a little to vapour: their oral and conclave Traditioniſts are hard at it in their confutations of each other, their great heads of Unity Pope *Sixtus* and *Clemens* fell very foul one with another: they cannot agree about the Supremacy of a Pope and a Council, nor which of their four or five Churches is the infallible one: the Popes and Councils have declared ſeveral ways upon the points, which obviates their common ſhift, *viz.* Their claſhings and bickerings are but in ſcholaſtick opinions and niceties; for then the definitions of Popes and Councils are no matters of Faith. But here again they quarrel; for ſome aſſert a Doctrine is heretical by its repugnancy to what is revealed by Chriſt: others affirm a Doctrine is heretical becauſe the Church hath declared ſo: its the former ſort thus confutes. If the Doctrine be heretical from the Churches declaration, then the Church hath power to make Articles of Faith: about which alſo there is a great buſtle among them; for ſome of them peremptorily deny the Church hath any power to make Articles of Faith: but

moſt

moſt of the Canoniſts, and all the Popes Exchequer men affirm it; ſo ſchiſmatically are they divided about their Church, the Head thereof, with the terms and objects of their prerended Unity: when theſe are ſmartly objected to them their onely *ſalvo* is, Their Rule would be a means to hold them in unity if it were followed. Very good! for the plain Engliſh of this is, their Rule about which they ſo ſmartly wrangle, and concerning which they could never yet agree, will or may be a means of unity when they are agreed about it. In oppoſition whereto we aſſert the Rule which we propoſe is not flexible like theirs, but infallible, *viz.* the ſure word of God duly applied; for the application whereof we take in the conſentient judgment of the univerſal Church in matters of Faith; and in points of practice the conſtant uſage thereof: theſe we ſtand to, becauſe, if they be not the true means of unity, the true Church of God, which always relied on theſe, and no other, had never any. If to this ſome Romaniſts give aſſent, as ſome of them do, they are

ſo

ſo far Engliſh Epiſcopal Proteſtants. From all which premiſed there is great reaſon and good warranty to conclude, that under the Government of King and Biſhops the Civil Power is moſt ſafely fixed; mixt Communion, Ignorance and Sin are moſt effectually provided againſt; Unity and Obedience ſtrongly guarded; therefore whatſoever good or deſirable can be expected from Eraſtianiſm, Presbyterianiſm, Independency, or Popery, is really experimented in Epiſcopacy; and therefore this in true polity ought to be retained and ſupported: the other modes are not to be admitted or entertained; not the Eraſtians, for they play at faſt and looſe with Kings and the Church; they reſpect no Government but the preſent, to which their ſubmiſſion is compliance, not obedience. Not the Presbyterians, for they encroach upon and vilifie Kingly authority; if they find a King, they will if they dare ſhackle him, or in our Northern expreſſion houghband him. Not the Independents, for with them Kings are the Peoples Creatures and Truſtees, neither will they permit him with their good

wills

wills to intermeddle in Church Affairs. Not the Pontificians, for reaſons given by the learned Doctor *Stillingfleet*, and that honourable Perſon who ſeconded him. It is therefore the clear intereſt of the Crown, if it would have a Church National to govern by, it ought to be Proteſtant Epiſcopal, as a late ingenious Writer hath obſerved, leſt if it be held of the Pope, Kirk, or People *in Capite*, it totter and fall. That Probleme which Dr. *Prideaux Ep. Ded. ad faſc. Contro. An ſuprematus Papalis ſit potiùs Antichriſtianus quàm Presbyterianus aut Enthuſiaſticus?* may hence eaſily be reſolved if we be not too palpably partial, we muſt declare them all, or none at all to be Tyrannical or Antichriſtian. The beſt Argument ever yet produced to prove the Pope to be Antichriſt is his bold challenge over all Kings and Monarchs, to depoſe them and diſpoſe of their Crowns and Dignities; which if it be good, it will hold as ſtrongly againſt all other Sectaries, for they are as truly the Limbs of Antichriſt who preach and preſs Rebellion againſt their lawfull Sovereign, and thoſe commiſſiona-

ted by him, upon a Puritan Vote, or Republican Reſolution, as they who prove and proſecute it upon the Pope's *Placet* or *Fiat:* that cannot be the myſtery of Godlineſs and Saintſhip in a Presbyterian or Independent, which is preſumed to be the myſtery of Iniquity in the Pope; and if the Doctrine of Rebellion be the mark of the Beaſt in a Pontifician, it cannot be a ſign of Election in a Smectymnuan or Oweniſt: for if the Pope by the plenitude of his power can diſcharge Subjects from the Oath and bonds of Allegiance, then the Sectaries by what names or titles ſoever divided or ſubdivided can free themſelves upon eaſier terms: for one will abſolve himſelf by a dormant diſpenſation of the ſpirit; another excuſe himſelf by the pretence of a new light; a third will plead Providence; a fourth Conſcience, and the Blades of Fortune will ſtand upon their priviledges.

The reſult of this tedious Chapter is, God had always a Church, this Church had always a Government, this was always determined by God, who in the firſt Ages of the world ſettled

tled this power on the firſt-born, who were both Kings and Prieſts; after he ſeparated theſe Offices, *Moſes* to hold the Kingly power, *Aaron* the Prieſtly; yet he ſo ordered, that the Prieſtly power ſhould be ſubordinate to the Regal: he foretold the like order ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the Chriſtian Church, that Nations ſhould flow into it, *Iſa.* 2. 2. and the Kings of thoſe Nations ſhould be nurſing Fathers to it, *Iſa.* 49. 23. that together with them ſhould be ſpiritual Fathers, Biſhops as Prefects therein, *Iſa.* 60. 17. for *Clement* according to that Copy which the Apoſtle uſeth reads that Comma thus *(viz.) I will make thy Biſhops peace*, ſo do the Seventy, who in nineteen other places render the Original פקוד by Ἐπίσκοπος, *Biſhop*; ſo *Pagnine* from *R. Abraham*, and *Buxtorf*, what we tranſlate *Office*, *Pſal.* 109. 8. they reade Prefecture, which S. *Peter*, *Acts* 1. 2. calls *Biſhoprick*: what was thus propheſied God in the fulneſs of time determined by his all-wiſe providence verified, when the Church was firſt governed by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who had under him Commiſſion-offi-

cers, his Apoſtles, and under them the Seventy Diſciples. After his Aſcenſion, and deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, the Apoſtles ruled in chief, having Attendants and Aſſiſtants to them, whom they after ſubſtituted, as the neceſſities of the Church required, for Biſhops, with Deacons and Prieſts under their Juriſdiction. Thus the Church ſtood and was governed for 300 years, till the nurſing Fathers appeared; then and ever ſince Kings and Biſhops have preſided in it, Kings having the Dominion, Biſhops the Juriſdiction in the Catholick Church. This was one great end of the Reformation, to reſtore our Kings and Biſhops to their univerſally acknowledged Rights due to them by Divine Law; this of all other Governments is the moſt Chriſtian, rational and practicable, becauſe moſt ſuiting with the main end of Government, which is that we may live quiet and peaceable lives, without any Faction or Schiſm, in all godlineſs and honeſty; and this therefore and no other is to be retained in the Church, both upon the true meaſures of piety and prudence.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE next thing canvaſſed in this Church, is the conſtituted Worſhip of God by Liturgy with Ceremonies and Holy-days.

SECT. 1. If it can be evinced, that preſcribed Forms were uſed in the Three firſt Centuries, it will follow in the judgment of all unprejudiced perſons they are ſtill to be practiſed and impoſed.

Num. 1. Our Lord and Saviour preſcribed a Form to his Diſciples, *Matt.* 6. 9. Οὕτως, *&c.* not onely for the Matter but very Form; for this Οὕτως, *&c.* is the ſame with that, *Numb.* 6. 23. according to the Septuagint, which did not reſpect onely the Subſtance but the Words as they were dictated. S. *Luke* makes it clear, When ye pray, ſay. *Verba & recitationem certam præſcribit*, ſaith *Melanch.* he gave them an Expreſs, ſaith *Diod.* long before them S. *Cypr. de Orat. Dom.*

Christ consulting the salvation of his people delivered them, *Etiam orandi Formam*; and before him *Tert. de Or. c.* 1, 9. *Novam, &c.* he ordered a new Form of Prayer; and before them both in *Trajan*'s Reign, the Christians ordinarily used it, as our *Greg.* observ'd from *Lucian.* The Context will confirm the interpretation, for it is generally received, the Jewish Teachers did compose Forms for their Disciples. *S. John Baptist* did, whereupon Christ's Disciples moved him also for a Form, *Luk.* 11. 1. that thereby they might be owned for such. In compliance whereto our Saviour granted their Petition, yet with that caution to decline novelty, that he took much of it from the Jewish Euchologue, as not onely our *Greg.* hath noted, but *Drusius* also and *Capellus*: plain it is from the manner of its composure, it was not delivered as a Directory, but as a Liturgy, not onely as a Rule to form our Prayers by, but a form to pray in: good reasons also there are to persuade us, notwithstanding the silence of the Scripture, that the Disciples constantly so used it; for it was a Symbol of their

Disci-

Diſcipleſhip, not unto them as common Jews, who onely uſed the Church Ritual, but as Chriſt's retainers, whoſe privilege and honour it was to have a Form of his ſetting; they under this relation moved him for a Form, in order to its obſervation, and to diſcriminate them from other Jews or Diſciples of other Maſters.

Num. 2. Our Saviour himſelf practiſed compoſed Forms, *Matt.* 26. 30. which *Cam.* aſſures us was the ſolemn cuſtomary Hymn which concluded the Supper; and it is the more probable, becauſe the Diſciples joyned with Chriſt in it, which they could not have done, unleſs they had been well acquainted with it. Again he uſed the ſame prayer thrice, *Matt.* 26. 44. ſo upon his complaint upon the Croſs he uſed the words of *David*, *Pſal.* 22. 1. and when he gave up the Ghoſt, *Luk.* 23. 46. he took a Form from, *Pſal.* 31. 7.

Num. 3. We have the Preſidents of S. *Peter* and S. *John* attending the ordinary ſervice, *Act.* 3. 1. which the circumſtances of time and place do

evince; for if they neglected the daily Service, or used any other, they would have given an offence to the Jews, whose conversion they endeavoured; this is confirmed from that observation of learned men, that the first Christians accommodated all their Offices to the Jewish Ritual, and revived the moral Service of God practised in the Jewish Church, which was always by a determinate Form, saith *Capel.* from *Maim. Syn. Crit. in Loc.* and appears from *Luk.* 1.10. compared with *Rev.* 8. 4. for at the time of Incense they had three Forms called, *Emeth, Gnaboah* and *Shemshalom,* because they began with these words; *Lightf. Desc.* of the Temple Service: Mr. *Selden* in his Notes on *Eut. p.* 41. from *Maim.* relates, The Jews were permitted to have their voluntary prayers, yet not on the Sabbath and Feast days, nor with the solemn appointed Sacrifices, because preseribed Prayers were then to be observed, but onely at the Free-will Offerings, and then too with these restrictions, they should not be extemporary, but prepared Prayers, nor were they permitted to the whole

Con-

Congregation which was tied up to the daily Offices. Thoſe places of Saint *Paul, Eph.* 3. 19. *Col.* 3. 16. are a plain reference to the Jewiſh practice, for there he uſeth thoſe three Greek words by which the Septuagint renders the three Hebrew *Miſmorim, Tehillath* or *Rabbinice* (as *Buxt.*) *Tehillim* and *Shirim: Diod.* interprets this Text by reference to *Pſal.* 55. 17. as others to *Dan.* 6. 10.

Num. 4. Primitive practice is deduced,

1. From *Acts* 13.2. where the Church is ſaid to be ſolemnly at her Liturgy, miniſtring, not to the people by Alms or other acts of Charity, but to God in the acts of his Worſhip, in publick Prayers and other parts of the Evangelical Miniſtery, ſaith *Diod.* This is agreeable to that Text, *Acts* 2.42. which in Mr. *Calvin*'s judgment delineates the true ſtate of the Church, treating of publick Prayers. And to that, *Acts* 4. 24. when the hundred and twenty Converts prayed unanimouſly and uniformly, there were no diſſenters amongſt them, nor mutes, all joyned and

and all in one Form, and this a ſet Form as it is ſet down in the Text.

2. From 1 *Cor.* 11. 5. every man and woman, *&c.* This at firſt ſight is obvious, all of both Sexes prayed and propheſied; and from the Context this was done in the publick Aſſemblies when the Church met, *v.* 20. and this according to an Apoſtolical Tradition, which S. *Paul* charged them to keep, *v.* 2. (But what then is this praying and propheſying?)

1. This praying here is not by an extemporary faculty or volubility of language, it may be queſtioned whether that was then in uſe, for if when S. *Paul, Rom.* 12. *Gal.* 5. *Eph.* 4. 1 *Cor.* 12. enumerated the gifts of the Spirit he gave a full Catalogue thereof, then this pretended gift is begged, becauſe no ſuch is mentioned in that Company; that of praying by the Spirit, 1 *Cor.* 14. 15. was praying in an unknown Tongue, *v.* 14. which required an interpreter; however this be, thoſe gifts were not common to all Believers, neither was any of them communicated to ſelect perſons for popularity and oſtentation, but for profit and edification;

tion; yea, their proper purpoſe was to prevent that licentiouſneſs that was taken from the pretence thereof, and even to reſtrain arbitrary prayers, and to confine the gifted to ſuch ſuggeſtions as the holy Spirit dictated to them; this is evident, the Apoſtle cenſures ſome of the pretenders for claſhing one with another, 1 *Cor.* 14. 21. it was never heard that the Spirit was given to any to pray upon their own heads, or according to their own luſts, intereſts and paſſions; but ſuppoſing there were ſuch a gift, yet it was not to be uſed at every meeting; for if an Interpreter were wanting at any ſuch meeting, then all they had to doe was either to reſort to the Common Prayers or to break up and be gone: neither laſtly was this gift given promiſcuouſly to all of all Sexes, it being pretended as a peculiar to the Miniſter, or ſome inſpired perſon endowed therewith, therefore praying here muſt be praying in the Church, *v.* 20. 22. by the Churches prayers according to the order and cuſtome thereof, 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. and then the meaning is, Every man or woman meeting at the Church or obſerving the

the cuſtomary conſtituted devotions ought to be thus habited and thus to demean themſelves.

2. By Propheſying here we are not to underſtand prediction of future events, nor the gift of interpreting what was ſpoken by the gift of Tongues, 1 *Cor.* 14. *v.* 2, 3. nor for ſpeaking to men for edification, 1 *Cor.* 12. 29. all are not Prophets; nor is it to be taken paſſively, as ſome imagine, for hearing a Prophecy, for then every one that hears a Prophecy is a Prophet; and by the ſame reaſon, every one that hears a Sermon is a Preacher; and a reaſon ought to be rendred why praying ſhould not be interpreted paſſively as well as propheſying, but the notion here is the ſame with that of, 1 *Sam.* 10. 5. 1 *Chron.* 25. 1. *Luk.* 1. 67. for ſinging Pſalms and Hymns, ſo the ſenſe is perſpicuous (*viz.*) Let every man and woman ſinging and praiſing God in the Church, appear in ſuch habits as are ſuitable to their Sex. This ſhould not ſeem odd to them who allow all to ſing, but ſilence the whole Congregation in the act of Prayer, becauſe in ſuch ſinging the Pſalms which

are

are uſed contain in them prayers, ſupplications, interceſſions and thankſgivings; but others are verily perſuaded that all both men and women have joynt intereſt in the publick Service of God with the officiating Miniſters, who as they are for order's ſake to direct and lead the Congregation, ſo all aſſembled have their parts to act. A bare corporal preſence is mockery and dalliance, an Eye or Ear ſervice will never be accepted as the reaſonable ſervice of God. Thus it hath been from the beginning (which is our Saviour's way of arguing, *Matt.* 19. 8.) ever ſince men called upon the name of the Lord; for thus it was practiſed in the Patriarchal ages, as our *Greg.* hath exemplified, *p.* 120, 121. Under the Law examples are numerous, *Ex.* 15. 1. 1 *Chron.* 15. 36. and 29. 20. 2 *Chron.* 6. 29. the manner is deſcribed, *Ez.* 3. 10, 11. and the practice proved, *Pſal.* 34. 3. and 107. 8, 15, 21, 31. Mr. *Selden* obſerves, the Eighteen compoſed Prayers by *Ezra* began with that, *Pſal.* 51. 15. *O Lord open thou our Lips*, to which the People anſwered, *And our mouths ſhall ſhew forth thy*

thy praiſe, the very Form retained in S. *James* his Liturgy, which is very much for its credit, and in ours ſoon after the beginning. S. *Paul* urgeth it as a Goſpel duty, *Rom.* 15. 6. to glorifie God, not with diſtracted or divided minds, but, with one mind, not that of the Miniſter onely, but of all as one in conſort, for that form *v.* 11. (*viz.*) *Praiſe ye the Lord*, was the Peoples Hallelujah: our Saviour with the Diſciples ſung the great one, on which *Muſculus* obſerves, *Ipſe ita prælocutus eſt ut verba illius fuerunt excepta & viciſſim reddita*; juſt as the people with us, repeat the Confeſſion, Lord's Prayer, &c. S. *Paul* reports the unlearned had his *Amen* to give in at the Euchariſt, but probably he did more in the other Offices, if we believe *Juſt. Mart. Apol.* 2. *ſub fin.* ἀνιςόμεθα κοινῇ, &c. where he diſtinguiſheth between the joynt Prayers of Prieſt and People, and thoſe peculiar and proper to the Miniſter, his part lay in thoſe Offices which ſolely depended on the power of the Keys, as Abſolution, Conſecration of the Elements and Benediction; the reſt which had no ſuch relation were com-

common both to Miniſter and People, who were to accompany him (as it is expreſſed in the introduction to our Liturgy) with an humble voice, *Cum diſciplina & modeſtis precibus*, as Saint *Cypr. Or. Dom.* and as *Ter. de Or. c.* 13. *Sonos etiam vocis ſubjectos, &c.* both of them commending a modeſt ſubmiſs rehearſal of the Prayers with the Miniſter who ſpeaks them out audibly, and both of them condemning the obſtreperous bold vociferations of rude men, who obſerved no *decorum*, whereof it ſeems ſuch there were at that time. Yet for once let it be ſuppoſed, the People onely expreſſed *Amen* at the Miniſter's prayer, this could not be rationally done to an extempore effuſion; becauſe they could not doe it with underſtanding, this they could not becauſe they were not acquainted with the Schediaſt's ſenſe, for whilſt the underſtanding is in labour rightly to apprehend what he means, no rational judgment can be paſſed till after ſome pauſe and deliberation upon what is delivered, and whilſt its thus employed, the Schediaſt in his poſt haſte is ſo far gone, that either he cannot attend to what

what he next delivereth, or he is at a loſs of what he hath delivered, and then all that he can doe is either to fall to his ſtudy or take all upon an implicit Faith; which if he do, he muſt ſay *Amen* to contradictions, abſurdities and wickedneſs. This is one foul piece of Popery, to put all devotion on the Prieſt, for when 1 *Cor.* 14. is urged againſt the Papiſts for their prayers in an unknown Tongue, the beſt anſwer that is given by their Controvertiſts and Commentatours is, *Populus eſt particeps omnium precum quas pro omnibus fundit Sacerdos*; for that the Prieſt ſpeaketh not to Men but to God, and the miniſterial Office would be dangerouſly invaded, if the people be permitted to utter any thing more than a bare *Amen.*

Sect. 2. The Teſtimonies of the Second Century will be revered by all ſober men, as that of *Enariſtus*, who ordered that Marriage ſhould be ſolemnized with the prayers of the Church; that of *Clemens*, *Ep.* 1. *ad Cor.* We ought to doe all things according to order, at ſet hours to frequent and ſolemnize the obla-

oblation and Liturgy, anſwerable to *S. Paul's* κατὰ τάξιν, that of *Juſt. Mart.* as before, We all ariſe to common prayer: *Ignat. in Ep. ad Magn. Teleſphorus, an.* 139. ordained that at publick prayers, the people ſhould ſing that Hymn, viz. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord, &c. Soter. an.* 164. that when the Prieſt ſaid, *The Lord be with you*, the People ſhould anſwer, *And with thy Spirit*: *Scaliger de Emend. Tem. l.* 7. tells us of an ancient Liturgy he had lying by him of *Ignatius* his compoſing, as he is underſtood by a learned man.

SECT. 3. For the Third Century *Tertul.* is expreſs, as is before noted; ſo is *S. Cypr.* who profeſſeth, *Publica nobis, &c.* We have publick Common Prayer, and that the people may be devout at it, the Prieſt prepares their minds with this Preface, *Surſum corda, Lift up your hearts*, whereto they anſwer, *We lift them up to the Lord*, *Origen. l.* 6. *cont.* Celſ. reports the Chriſtians uſed conſtituted preſcribed prayers, one Form whereof he mentions in terms; *Hom.* 11. *in Jer.* we frequently ſay in our prayers, *O Almighty God,*

give us a part with the Prophets, &c. and we have a remarkable ſtory of his great affection for them, which lies thus, *apud Euſ. l. 6. c. 3. Leonides* his Father being beheaded by the Emperour *Severus*, and his Eſtate confiſcated, *Origen*, not being then full eighteen years old, he with his Mother and ſix other Brethren were left to the wide world. It pleaſed God a noble Lady entertained and ſupplied him, who alſo had retained one *Marcus*, an *Antiochian*, whom ſhe reſpected for his famed faculty in extempore praying, in which ſhe was delighted; whereupon at her houſe frequent meetings were had, to which not onely the Hereticks (the Non-conformiſts) but many of our own Conformiſts reſorted, yet for all the favours *Origen* received from her, he would never be perſuaded to be preſent at their Conventicles, becauſe from his Childhood (it ſeems his Parents were religious true Sons of the Church) he had obſerved Κανόνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, the Order of the Church, and perfectly hated all Doctrines of errours. *Hippolytus* writ his *Orat. de Conſum. Mundi*, about *an.* 220. wherein he ſaith, *Ad Anti-*

Antichriſti tempora, &c. in the laſt times of Antichriſt, the holy Houſes ſhall be like Cottages, Λιτυργία σβεσθήσεται, *Liturgy ſhall be extinguiſhed, &c.* This was fully put in execution by our late *Bandities* upon the pretence of the feared (though moſt knaviſhly) and ſuſpected introduction of Tyranny and Popery.

SECT. 4. We produce good reaſons, as well as good rules and great authorities, for ſet Forms.

1. An arbitrary form by a new ſet of words may perhaps affect and work ſtrangely upon the ſenſitive Soul, as the frantick feats of the Turkiſh Derviſes do on thoſe miſerable deluded people; phraſes and variety of them with cadencies, affected tones and geſtures, wry mouths and twinkling eyes, with much ſweat and noiſe, may raiſe the humours and paſſions into diſorder, but they can never prevail with a rational conſidering man to gain his eſteem, unleſs it be to pity them or ſmile at them. That which they eſteem as a gift is rather an art by the dilatation of the animal ſpirits, which

are much pleaſed and raiſed by a delight in novelty and variety, and oft puts the Soul into ſtrange heats and fancies.

2. To borrow three from Mr. *Calvin*, *Ep.* 87.

1. A determinate Form from which Miniſters are not to vary in their Offices, is uſefull as an help to the weakneſs of ſome; he might have ſaid of the many, yea the moſt, if not all.

2. It is a Teſtimony of the Churches conſent and unity; he might have added of her conformity with the Catholick Church.

3. It is a way to ſtop the deſultorious levity of thoſe who are for new things; Mr. *Baxter* will help him here, who in his *Diſp. of Lit. Prop.* 10. in his great experience, acknowledgeth, the conſtant diſuſe of ſet Forms is apt to breed a giddineſs in Religion, and it may make men Hypocrites, who ſhall delude themſelves with fancies, that they delight in God, when it is but in thoſe novelties and varieties of expreſſion. Indeed extempore prayers are ſtrong deluſions in ſeveral reſpects, For,

1. The

1. The moſt prudent and cunning ſort of the pretenders to this faculty uſe ſtudy and premeditation, which they conceive neceſſary to pray ſeaſonably, yet here lies the cheat, they would have their herd to take their compoſed Forms as iſſues of their ſudden conceptions. A great man of the Faction freely imparted his mind herein to a Friend, ſaying, He had ſo many Forms lying by him, moſt of which being committed to memory, by the interchangeable uſe of them, he was thought by the people always to pray without premeditation, *Engl. Reprover, p.* 153. This is juſt *ſi vult populus decipi decipiatur*, a Puritan *pia fraus.*

2. The Zealots of the Sect honour an honeſt unpremeditated prayer with the title of Spiritual, by way of propriety, in oppoſition to ſet Forms for ordinary uſe, pretending the Spirit immediately ſuggeſts the expreſſions. Thus *Ambroſe* in his experiences publiſhed with Licence from *Herle* once Prolocutor of their Aſſembly, *Angier*, *Johnſon* and *Waite*, Provincials in the Claſs in *Lancaſhire* upon a private Faſt obſerved, *Jan.* 6. 1642. held it forth, The Lord

gave ſome that exerciſed that day the very ſpirit and power of prayer, to the raviſhment of the hearers; ſurely it was the Spirit ſpake in them, which they reſolved from *Zach.* 12. 10. *Rom.* 8. 26. This is a Jeſuitical Cheat, as it is reported by *Maffeus*, *elevante ſpiritu, &c.* that the Spirit would raiſe *Ignatius* at his prayers four cubits from the earth.

3. The great Sticklers for the good old Cauſe ſo highly extoll extempore conceptions, that they own them as the beſt evidences of their Party and Piety; firſt idolizing that which in ſome is mere natural, in others an artificial habit of Enthuſiaſm, as *Caſaubon* hath evidenced, *c.* 4. next, idolizing the perſons pretending to it, who have been very monſters of men; ſuch as *Achitophel* who (as the Rabbins relate) prayed every day thrice, and every time had a conceived Oration; ſuch as *Baſilides* the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, and *Oliver*, two moſt bloudy Villains and Tyrants; ſuch as the blaſphemous *Hatket* here in *England*, and the vile Wretch were in *Scotland*; the horrid execrable Regicides, and the whole

whole litter of our late Mammon Rebels and Renegadoes.

SECT. 5. It is confeſſed by the moſt knowing men of the Party, that impoſed ſtated Forms were in common practice in the Fourth Century, which is an Argument they were ſo from the beginning. For the Fathers of that Age, being perſons eminent for piety and ſincerity in the Chriſtian profeſſion, would not innovate, and being alſo men of excellent accompliſhments would eaſily have obſerved what was moſt proper for the diſcharge of their Function. Had they believed that lowſie Fancy, that the modification of publick Worſhip by perſonal abilities was the formal act of the miniſterial Office, as the cutting of Cloath into ſuch a ſhape by his own skill is the formal miniſtration of a Taylor, as an *Anonymus*, *p.* 79. of his *Survey*, mechanically held forth; they doubtleſs would have made uſe of their great perſonal abilities in their publick adminiſtrations, which confeſſedly they did not, and it is certain they would not doe ſo, becauſe they conceived themſelves o-

bliged to retain the ancient Forms in veneration to thoſe pious perſons who compoſed and injoyned them for publick uſe. The Third Council at *Carthage*, c. 3. reſolved, *Quaſcunque*, &c. Whatſoever prayers any ſhall tranſcribe for themſelves, let them be taken out of a Copy before in uſe. *S. Baſil. de Sp. Sanct. c.* 27. refers to the ſolemn words of prayer obſerved before his time in the benediction at the Euchariſt. Saint *Chryſ. Hom.* 2. *in* 2. *ad Cor.* exemplifies a Form which had long before been conſtituted in the Church. In *Ireland* S. *Patrick* brought a Liturgy which he received from *Germanus* and *Lupus*, originally taken from S. *Mark*. Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in his Diſcourſe of the Religion profeſſed by the ancient Iriſh, affirmeth, he had ſeen it ſet down in an ancient Fragment well nigh nine hundred years ſince, remaining now in the Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*. That every exception againſt thoſe Liturgies of Saint *James*, &c. that they were ſuppoſititious, is an argument that ſuch there had been; for if they were corrupted, ſomething was pure; if ſomewhat was ſuppoſi-

titious

titious in them, ſomewhat alſo was genuine.

One trifling objection againſt our Liturgy, which ſerves to amuſe the Vulgar, is not to be neglected. It is this, The firſt Reformers induſtriouſly contrived the Common Prayer Book, to endear the Papiſts to its uſe.

This in the judgment of wiſe men is to commend them, *Zanch. in Phil.* 4. 8. thought the gratification of bad men in thoſe things wherein we do not offend God, to be a duty. *Amyral. de Succeſſ. ab Eccl. Rom. p.* 225. highly approves this courſe, *atque hic commemorare, &c.* we are here to conſider with what wiſedom and moderation the French and Genevian Churches contrived their publick Forms of Prayer. They are ſo far from handling any controverſial matters therein, that the Pontificians themſelves ſcruple not to uſe them; and, which is ſcarce to be believed, but that the matter of fact is notorious, they have picked out of them certain Prayers, which they have inſerted into their Manuals for the uſe of the people in their native Language. The objectors might have remembred,

that

that Book took with the Romaniſts for full ten years of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign; probably had longer, but that their dear Friends the Puritans, had diſturbed the peace of the Church, which gave the Pope an opportunity to diſpatch his Emiſſaries, and ever ſince both Parties have bandied againſt it.

The Conſectaries of the premiſſes are, ſtated Liturgy from Scripture, with the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, and continued in the Catholick Church, is the beſt ſervice of God; and our Liturgy being perfectly conformed thereto, is to be retained. It was then no vanity or preſumption in Archbiſhop *Cranmer* to engage againſt all oppoſers thereof, if he was permitted to take *Peter Martyr* with three or four more for his aſſiſtants, he would prove there was nothing therein contained, but what was agreeable with the holy Scriptures, and primitive Antiquity. Biſhop *Jewel* had great reaſon to aſſert, *Acceſſimus*, &c. We came as near as poſſibly we could to the Order uſed in the Apoſtles times, *Apol. par.* 5. *c.* 15. *diviſ.* 8. and more fully, *par.* 6. *c.* 16. *diviſ.* 1. We came as near

as

as poſſible we could to the Church of the Apoſtles, and of the old Catholick Biſhops and Fathers, and have directed according to their cuſtoms and ordinances, not onely our Doctrine, but alſo the Sacraments and form of Common Prayer; ſo falſe and abſurd is that fancy, that our Liturgy is formed out of the Roman *Miſſal*, that ſo far as it is Popiſh is nothing elſe but a bombaſt of corrupt additionals patched to it.

CHAP. V.

THE next Charge againſt the Reformation is, that Ceremonies are retained and enjoyned.

SECT. 1. That circumſtances may be determined the Aſſemblers have reſolved, *Pref. to the Direc. p. 7. viz.* They endeavoured to hold forth ſuch things as were of Divine Inſtitution, and to ſet forth other things according to the rules of Chriſtian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of God's word: and ſome of theſe other things are

are Ceremonies; for a determination of the poſture of the Body in Divine Service is one which they paſs, when they order the people to ſit at the Table; and in the Office of Marriage, they will and require the Man to take the Woman by the right hand, *&c.* which they accompt a Ceremony, or elſe their immediately ſubſequent clauſe is nonſenſe, *viz.* Then without any farther Ceremony, *&c. The Platform drawer, c.* 10, 11. 8. is peremptory, *Nefas eſt, &c.* It is wickedneſs to oppoſe the judgment of Rulers, *ſine ſufficienti & ponderoſa cauſa*; to explain which he declares, then it is a ſufficient and weighty cauſe, when at leaſt there is *violenta præſumptio* a violent preſumption in the judgment of truly wiſe men, that the Superiours have not ſwerved from the truth. But the Catechiſm maker, an old Trader in Subtilties, goes more cunningly to work: This is his artifice, *p.* 61, 62. Whatſoever is of circumſtance in the manner of performance of religious Worſhip, not capable of eſpecial determination, as emerging or ariſing onely occaſionally upon the doing of what is appointed, at

at this or that time, in this or that place, or the like, is left to moral prudence. Now he immediately ſubjoyns, but the addition of Ceremonies, not neceſſarily belonging neither to the Inſtitutions of Chriſt, nor unto thoſe circumſtances whoſe diſpoſal falls under the rules of moral prudence, neither doth nor can add any thing to the due order of Goſpel Worſhip. This laſt Clauſe is but the opinion of a few muſhrome Sectaries, which is overruled by the judgment of the Catholick Church and all wiſe men. It is remarkable, when the *Aberdeen* Doctours proved from the Confeſſions of the Reformed Churches and judgment of ſome learned men, that more than bare circumſtances of actions were left to the determination of the Church, and plainly told them, their ſtirring about Ceremonies was a ſcandal to other Reformed Churches, *Demand.* 13. The Three Apoſtles of the Covenant, *Henderſon*, *Dickſon* and *Cant*, fairly ſlipped by this in their firſt return, but being once more preſſed, they frankly confeſſed the charge, ſaying, We deny not but Divines both ancient and

and modern, are againſt us concerning the lawfulneſs of the things controverted, *p.* 22. all abſolutely either allowing or judging them tolerable, *p.* 28. For we ſcarce know any without his Majeſty's Dominions that peremptorily condemn them as unlawfull: and at laſt were driven to this feeble ſlurr to uphold all their innovations and rebellious actions, *viz.* They had ſeen the day of the Lord's power in the Land. But if it be poſſible to be an *Oedipus* to this *Sphinx*, we are to watch the motions and refuges of this Fox.

1. What doth he mean by his occaſional emergents, either his circumſtances be they, if ſo, then he muſt reconcile himſelf to his Brethren, who allow them to be natural or inſeparable accidents and adjuncts, not occaſionally, but conſtantly attending all external actions; or elſe his occaſional emergents, are ſome, *pro hic & nunc*, neceſſaries, that is, when occaſion is offered, for religious Worſhip, ſuch circumſtances and the like are neceſſarily to be adhibited; for the laſt clauſe, *viz.* But the ſuperaddition, *&c.* being an exception to the foregoing it muſt

ſigni-

ſignifie this or nothing, *viz.* That Ceremonies are not neceſſarily belonging; but circumſtances do neceſſarily belong, *&c.* For,

2. He ſeems to diſtinguiſh theſe not onely in expreſſion, but putting them in a different letter. Let this be granted that they are diſtinguiſhable, yet the diſtinction is onely modal; for when a circumſtance is actually applied to any Act, then it falls under the notion of a Ceremony, that which is a circumſtance in the general abſtracted conſideration, becomes a Ceremony by the particular uſage and application. Time, place, and the like, that is, habit and geſture, are circumſtances, but this time or place; this or that habit and geſture, by the ſpecial determination of the indefinite adjuncts to obſervation are Ceremonies. But herein the Doctour kept a-loof from the conteſt, for the matter in debate is, firſt, Whether religious Worſhip ought to be performed with ſolemnity and reverence? And if ſo, then Whether Ceremonies be not proper for its Solemnity?

3. What

3. What the things and matters are which he coucheth under his [and the like] Was he afraid of an *&c.* which his Partiſans had ſo ſhrewdly clubbed? yet his [and the like] is as like an *&c.* as one Egg can be to another. If habit and geſture fall under his [and the like] he muſt wear the Surplice and kneel when he is ordered, which becauſe they agree not with his chiverell Conſcience, he puts us off with an obſcure inſignificant [and the like.] But if he be reſerved, Brother *Rutherforth* coughs out, reckons habit and geſture with and among his ſix phyſical circumſtances; which if they be, then according to his rule, they fall under the rules of moral prudence.

4. How comes it to paſs that his circumſtances are not capable of ſpecial determination? Certainly God could (if in his infinite wiſedom he had thought fit) have preſcribed the intire manner, (as once he did) as well as the duty; therefore time, place and the like, are capable of ſpecial determination, with the occaſional emergents, *viz.* The monthly *Wedneſday* Faſt,

Faſt, and the annual Thankſgiving on the third of *September*: and he could have ordered who ſhould have carried on the work of the days, *J. O.* for one, and *Smect.* for the other end, and made them a Directory to order them how to preach and pray; he could have appointed the habit and geſture as well as place, *S. Paul's* as well as *Margaret's Weſtminſter*; if then the circumſtances of time and place be, ſo the like form, habit and geſtures are left to moral prudence.

5. What is his moral prudence? Here we are in the dark, till the *illuminato* do in good earneſt declare, whether his prudence be a peculiar of ſome Set of gifted men, or the whole Set of ſecret Ones, or of ſome few Demagogues, who with their ſeditious Oratours, drive on their particular intereſts by gratifying the luſts of their charmed herds, and have rare pick-locks for their Purſes and Conſciences. Or whether it be the publick and the Legal Governours of the Church, or the private prudence of every individual Chriſtian; if the former, then what is pleaded, is obtained; if the

latter, then why may not the publick judgment interpoſe in thoſe things, on which private diſcretion and Conſcience may reſolve? Doubtleſs particular perſons, or ſuch as are arbitrarily aſſociated at the moſt, have onely a private capacity, and all wiſe men and good have heretofore been of this perſuaſion; that publick perſons are moſt proper to be entruſted with the management of publick concerns, both becauſe God hath committed it to them, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2, 3. and alſo becauſe what a Chriſtian may ſafely doe upon the dictates of his Conſcience, he may warrantably doe when enjoyned by publick authority. This they practiſe in a plain matter of fact, An Oath is generally confeſſed by them to be a part of religious worſhip; But publick authority hath preſcribed its form of adminiſtration, and appointed ſignificant Ceremonies at the taking thereof. Here I demand whether an Oath thus formed and circumſtantiated can be lawfully taken or no? If not, how comes it to paſs that theſe men, in any inſtance wherein their temporal intereſts are concerned, are

free

free to it? If they can, and doe, why may not the ſame authority determine the circumſtantials of the Second and Fourth Commandment as well as of the Third? Are they not equally Precepts of Divine Worſhip? And why may not the ſame require our conformity to their Conſtitutions in the adjuncts of religious Worſhip, as well as command and enforce ſubmiſſion to their Acts for the modifying, limiting and enlarging the duties of the Second Table? Is not holy Text as much a rule of perfection for the Offices of Juſtice and Charity, as for religious Duties? Is not Chriſt the Lawgiver to both? And can there be a fairer acknowledgment of the plenitude of his power, than that by Commiſſion he hath ſettled and delegated his Officers here on earth to make rules for the honeſt and honorary performance of what he hath indiſpenſably commanded? What therefore they by their Legantine power duly executed do order, is ordered by him. *Quod quis per alium, &c.* he that heareth you, heareth me.

SECT. 2. Ceremonies thus ſtated are in ſome degree neceſſary (as we uſually call ornamentals in an Houſe neceſſaries) becauſe ſuch is the exigence of all external actions, that without them they cannot be ſolemnly performed, which in all religious affairs, as well as civil tranſactions, ought to be reſpected. All Societies have their ceremonial Obſervations as well as fundamental Conſtitutions, to which they have ſo great reſpect, that they ſuſpect theſe to be ſore ſhaken, when the other are removed; and the Catholick Church hath ever thought Ceremonies ſo ſubſervient to the decent, regular and reverend performance of Chriſtian Inſtitutions, that without them the Service could not receive nor retain its due value and eſteem. In the Chriſtian Community, Unity and Uniformity are commanded duties, and all Chriſtians have hitherto believed Ceremonies are the beſt fences and ſecurities for them, and ſuch as add much luſtre and honour to exerciſes of Religion. How great a part of the judicial Law was Ceremonial? not onely by types and figures of good things to come, which

as

as carnal Ordinances were to expire when the fulneſs of time came, but appendants and attendants of thoſe good duties then enjoyned, which are not abrogated by Chriſt. That Text, *Matt.* 5. 17. reſpects not one diviſion of the Law, but every part, ſo that the whole remains in force to receive its perfection by the Goſpel. The moral Law, though nulled in its preſumed ability to juſtification, which the grace of Jeſus Chriſt ſupplieth, yet liveth as a rule of obedience. The judicial ſtands ſtill in its full ſtrength in matters of common equity, though as to thoſe Laws which peculiarly reſpected the Jewiſh State its rigour is abated, to ſupply which God hath given to ſupreme Powers authority to enact ſuch Decrees as are conducible to the great ends of Government. The Ceremonial, as it conſiſted of weak and beggarly rudiments is determined, yet it holds as a directory to the Church for rites of ſignification; For one great end thereof was to teach us to ſerve God regularly and reverently; *Ameſius, Med. Theol. l.* 2. *c.* 15. *n.* 16. confeſſes, Inſtitutions merely Ceremonial do yet contain in them a ge-

neral equity, and do yet teach us that certain fitting days (therefore fitting Rites by parity of reaſon) be aſſigned for God's publick Worſhip, *Subſtantia Legis Ceremonialis eſt perpetua, Zanch. de Relig. Obſerv. c. 15. Aphor. 4. J. Frig. p. 9.* of his *Ref. Pol.* thus expreſſeth it in reference to the whole; There is no abrogation, well there may be ſome derogation; which he hath borrowed from the Canoniſts and Caſuiſts, who thus diſtinguiſh, *Derogatur Legi cùm pars detrahitur; abrogatur cùm prorſus tollitur, Barth. Fum. Tit. Abrog.* and he thus explains it; A derogation doth but expound an Edict, as we ſee the Goſpel derogateth from the Law by taking away the Letter, and requiring it be taken after the Spirit, now the ſpirit of the Law is the equity thereof, but the letter is the rigour of the words. We have a Saying, the reaſon of the Law is its ſoul; and every ſenſe affixed contrary to the reaſon of its enacting is unreaſonable. Now as in ſeveral Statutes of Repeal, ſome uſeleſs or prejudicial things are nulled, but what conduceth to good ends is by cautious *proviſo's* ſtrengthened; ſo the Moſai-

Moſaical Law in thoſe things which were burthenſome and inconvenient, is quite out of all, but thoſe that are no way derogatory to the Diſcipline of Chriſt and his eaſie yoke, and which are very agreeable with the Conſtitution of Chriſtian Society, and community have their full virtue. It was the obſervation of *Melanćthon*, that the fourth Commandment was *Morale præceptum de Ceremoniali*, which (if I underſtand him aright) the ultimoſt reaſon of the Law is moral, but what is ſpecially commanded is Ceremonial, and if ſo, then plainly it is moral, that ſome things ſhould be Ceremonial; And becauſe Ceremonies have been by all almoſt adjudged ſerviceable to the common interchangeable good of Religion, therefore they are not to be eſteemed trivial or ſuperfluous; for nothing is ſo which is a concurring good mean to a good end, or hath a ſocial good end in good reſolutions.

Sect. 3. If the quarrel be at their ſignificancy, certainly the more ſignificant they are, the more expedient alſo they are, and the Church hath good

authority to expedients, for what is both lawfull and laudable is in that degree neceſſary; and if S. *Paul* thought it incumbent on every ſingle Chriſtian, to provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men, *Phil.* 4. 8. then much more is the Church bound to take care in that reſpect for her ſelf and her members. Now theſe honeſt things which are to be provided are ſuch as in the approbation of all wiſe men, whether good or bad, are grave, venerable, attractive and obliging, and ſuch are our Ceremonies; which are experimented to be wholſome preſervatives of the golden mean betwixt nakedneſs and vanity, veneration and ſuperſtition, gaudineſs and rudeneſs, and therefore of the kind of thoſe honeſt things; But S. *Paul* is yet more particular, ſeeming to put ſignificant Ceremonies, *ſub Præcepto*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 8. I will therefore (I appoint it by Apoſtolical authority, ſaith *Diod.*) that men lift up holy hands, by this Ceremony (ſaith he) to expreſs the devotion of the heart; *Piſc.* ſeconds him, the lifting up the hands (ſays he) is a ſign of the elevation of the heart, with this *proviſo*, not that this geſture

is

is ſo neceſſary, that we are indiſpenſably tyed to it; For we find the Publican uſed it not, but ſmote upon his Breaſt, yet therein he was a true Conformiſt, who obſerved an uncommanded ſignificant rite according to the then received cuſtome, if Dr. *Lightfoot's* warranty be good, that in Chriſt's time they prayed with their hands laid on their breaſts, the right hand being placed on the left, [Proſtration was no commanded Rite, yet approved, 2 *Chron.* 7. 3.] All theſe had their proper ſignifications, that of lifting up the hands, an expreſſion both of our faith and confidence in God, and of innocency and ſincerity in our ſelves, thoſe of ſmiting the breaſt and proſtration, notes of humility and ſelf-denial, all of them, of reverence and ſubmiſſion of mind, and reſpectively practiſed firſt by the Jews and after by the ancient Chriſtians, *Grot. in loc.* S. *Paul* obſerved what he taught, *Eph.* 3. 14. I bow my knees, not metaphorically, but phyſically, to teſtifie (as *Diod.* and *Piſc.*) his humility in prayer. The Non-conformiſts themſelves can, when the Fit takes them, uncover their heads,

(which

(which is no natural but topical usage) at their prayers, singing and communicating, which they either refer to some present sensible object, and then they are as idolatrous as they fansie the Papists to be, or else they use it as an expression of some moral duty, which is to observe a significant Ceremony: All who have approved Ceremonies (and all have done so but this petty peddling Tribe) have the rather approved them for their significancy, and many who have liked these, have snuffed at the Romish for their dulness.

Sect. 4. There being no fault in Ceremonies, nor their Significancy, there can be none in their Imposition, both because what is lawfull and laudable may, *& pro hic & nunc*, ought to be imposed; and also if Superiours have authority it lies in this kind of things, because the observation of these depends on their authority; what is certainly divine, whether Superiours enjoyn it or not, we are to doe for God's sake; what is humane, when required by Superiours, we are to perform

form for their ſakes, who have received ſuch authority from God, what they exact in duties ſtanding by divine Law natural, or poſitive, is onely miniſterial, what in others is judicial. But if ſignificant Ceremonies be due expedients in the publick worſhip of God, then for order and uniformity therein, it is neceſſary they be ſettled in a fixed determinate ſtate, becauſe if this be not obſerved, the ends for which they are expedient are not attainable. For as they will not reach the ends of decency and edification, unleſs they be ſignificant, and by their ſignificancy expedient, ſo will they not procure unity and uniformity unleſs they be determined, and by virtue of this determination unanimouſly and uniformly obſerved. If then it be requiſite there be a ſtated order, this muſt be drawn either by God or Man. It is acknowledged by all hands, that matters of this nature are left by God to humane prudence, the order then muſt be from Man. But if from Man, then either from an agreement of the People, which is not, for ſuch lives not long, and ſo we muſt begin again; and as the

pro-

proceſs will be *in infinitum*, ſo it is hard to find that ever any ſuch agreement hath been made; if there have, then I demand whether this agreement be obligatory or not? if not, the agreement is a buſie nothing, the end pretended is no way ſecured; if it be, then it hath the nature of an impoſition to that multitude ſo agreed, and each particular member thereof, and alſo the matter whatſoever it be in its kind, is reſolved by that conſenting impoſition neceſſary for its uſe, becauſe confeſſedly obliging by virtue of that concluſive agreement. Or elſe from ſome whom God hath entruſted and committed a power to order theſe things, which is the moſt natural and Scriptural way: and ſo if theſe impoſe there, there ariſeth an obligation to obſerve what is impoſed, becauſe there are expreſs commands for obedience to them in the word of God, ſo that a ſcrupuloſity ariſing from a mixt perſuaſion or doubting of the lawfulneſs of the matters impoſed will not acquit the Conſcience, becauſe he that diſobeyeth is damned as well as he that doubteth. It is no unwarrantable ground-

groundleſs ſuppoſition, that if man had continued in the ſtate of innocency, even then a ſettled Government would have been provided, becauſe that after men were multiplied upon earth they would have drawn into Socities; but it is utterly unconceivable how the way of living in a Society could be effected without a ruling power to order it. *Rivet. in Exod.* 20. *p.* 157. brings this home to the ſpecial matter; *Ritus externi, &c.* External rites proper and belonging to Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and for certain circumſtances in the worſhip of God, were no way unſuitable to that ſtate. For which he aſſigns this reaſon, *p.* 152. *In ſtatu illo, &c.* In that ſtate men ſhould have entred into Society, and being entred, Eccleſiaſtical Polity ſhould have its place and uſe even in divine Worſhip. For, though in that ſtate every day would have been as an holyday, and there was nothing could have diverted man from the contemplation and worſhip of God, yet as, even then man, as a living Creature, might apportion ſome time for the procurement of neceſſaries for humane life, ſo as a

ſoci-

ſociable Creature he would ſubmit to order in his publick religious converſation. This will hold the ſtronglier, if that Hypotheſis hold, that God by a poſitive Law commanded the obſervation of the Sabbath to man before he lapſed; and concluded it is that *Adam*, being the firſt Parent of mankind, did exerciſe this ruling power over his deſcendants, and the ſucceſſive Fathers of Families, after they were multiplied, did ſo by the Law of Primogeniture; ſo that ſuperiority and inferiority, and therefore ſubjection, ſtands by the Law of nature, otherwiſe the fifth Commandment is no part thereof.

SECT. 5. What was the reaſon of our firſt Reformers retaining Ceremonies, is expreſſed in the Preface to the Common-Prayer-Book, in the Proclamation publiſhed and prefixed to it, in the Editions thereof in King *James* his time, which the Lord *Bacon* highly approved; and fully cleared by our excellent *Jewel*, ſaying, *Part.* 2. *c.* 17. *diviſ.* 1. We keep ſtill and do eſteem Ceremonies, for that we had a deſire all things in the holy Congregation (as

(as S. *Paul* commanded) be done with comelineſs and order. *Vide Synopſ. in Joſh.* 22, 25, *ad* 30. and on *Dan.* 6. 10.

SECT. 6. Now if our Separatiſts be not pleaſed to receive ſatisfaction from the premiſſes, nor from the Writings of many excellent men, both of this Church and other reformed Proteſtant Churches; let them conſult their dearly beloved *Ameſius*, provided they take him waking, not dreaming, when he is in his practical method, not when he is in his polemical heats, unleſs when he is ſo warmly charged by his adverſary, that he is driven to give way, who if he do not determine the caſe in favour to the Conformiſts, I muſt confeſs I do not rightly underſtand him.

His firſt hint is in his *Bell. enerv. To.* 2. *l.* 4. *c.* 3. *n.* 9. *viz.* All obedience preſuppoſeth a Precept, and it is due obedience in reference to God if it be any way commanded by him, as in the propoſal of things determined for order, decency and edification. For then *obſervantia ſuperioribus eſt debita, &c.* obedience pay'd to lawfull Superi-

periours in many things not determined by God, nor ſpecially commanded (*N. B.*) by him to be obſerved by all, is acceptable to God, *quatenus pendet*, &c. as it is a duty of the Fifth Commandment.

The next is in *l.* 3. *de conſc. c.* 18. *q.* 1. *n.* 4. *Actiones*, &c. Actions which are neither commanded nor forbidden by God, are not matters of obedience or diſobedience, (conſidered abſtractedly, as will ſoon appear from him) but are in their intrinſecal nature indifferent. Now all we affirm in this caſe is, that thoſe actions which in their latitude and nature are indifferent, are thereby free to be determined for practice, and being once ſo determined by Superiours, it is not indifferent for private perſons to croſs or thwart their determinations, to doe or not to doe thoſe indifferents, becauſe the determination to practice ſo far abates the indifferency of that middle indifferent thing, (which yet after the determination remains ſuch in its kind.) If herein he doth not concur with us, I miſtake, for he adds; The common nature of the thing is indifferent to good or evil, as it is

duly

duly or unduly circumſtantiated. Now, ſay I, hence it follows, that the practice, according to conformity or nonconformity, in the determination of that indifferent thing, is reſpectively either good or bad; good by their tendency to good, that is, if they promote the good of order, and unity, *&c.* evil if we do not; he goes on, *p.* 191. ſuch geſtures are required in prayer, which are expreſſive of ſingular humility, as uncovering the head, kneeling, *&c.* adding, *p.* 124. at ſolemn prayer it is fit, by the elevation of the hands and eyes, to declare our faith and hope in our heavenly Father, and by geſtures and ſigns to expreſs the inward motions; whereupon he determins, theſe indifferents may not ſimply, abſolutely and for perpetuity be commanded, yet as they tend to good they ought, and ought to be commanded by thoſe, who, *authoritate pollent*, are in chief authority. Therefore in his opinion, things indifferent in their nature, are good from their application and ſettlement in good order, and in reference to good ends; which (he farther ſays) needs not to be al-

ways actual and explicit, a virtual is ſufficient, and is as much as is generally required, which obviates that cavil of *Pyrgopal.* in his anſwer to Dr. *Durel.*

His third comes yet more home, *Med. Theol. l.* 2. *c.* 14. *n.* 23. where he grants other circumſtances (as *J. O.* ordered) with an [and the like] but with this difference, *J. O.* terms them natural, which he ſticks not to call the common adjuncts of religious and civil acts, but by others (whom he cenſures not) are called religious Rites, or Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies; the neglect and contempt whereof is in ſome meaſure a kind of violation of the holineſs of Religion, and cannot be ſeparated from it, but in ſome manner we derogate from the majeſty and dignity thereof. Then he gives his full judgment of them, *n.* 24. Theſe are not particularly commanded in Scripture, nay, its below the majeſty thereof to preſcribe them, but they are left to moral prudence, *n.* 27. Theſe Conſtitutions thus determined, are truly ſaid by the beſt Divines to be partly divine, and partly humane; partly divine, becauſe in their higheſt and primary reſpect

ſpect they depend on the will of God, commanding them in general; *n.* 24. partly humane, becauſe as to their particular obſervation they depend on humane prudence; yet ſo, that if there be no errour in their Conſtitution they are to be eſteemed and accepted, *quaſi ſimpliciter*, and as if they were ſimply and abſolutely divine.

To recapitulate what he hath determined in the point.

There are things indifferent in their common nature and kind, theſe indifferents, when by ſpecial determination through their tendency to good they are applied thereto, are good; Eccleſiaſtical Rites and Ceremonies when thus duly circumſtantiated are in the account of thoſe indifferents: theſe Ceremonies ſhould be ſignificant, expreſſive of reverence and humility, of our faith and hope in God; theſe ſignificant expreſſions ought to be conſtituted, theſe Conſtitutions are to be ordered by humane prudence, this humane prudence is that of thoſe who precide in chief, theſe ſo ordered are religiouſly to be obſerved, and to neglect or contemn them, is to derogate from the majeſty

of religious Worſhip, and to violate its holineſs; and laſtly, the obſervation of them is acceptable to God (ſay Mr. *Cawdry* to the contrary what he can) by virtue of the Fifth Commandment: and ſo *Ameſius* his Evidence is ſummed up.

Sect. 7. Thoſe three innocent (as they are juſtly called) Ceremonies retained and obſerved in our Church, ſhe preſcribes for by long continued Cuſtome. For,

1. The Prieſts ſhould have a diſtinctive Habit, is ſo generally ruled, that it hath prevailed always in all places, where any Religion hath been profeſſed. In the Patriarchal Ages, the Prieſts had ſuch Garments whereof *Iſaac* is an inſtance, *Gen.* 27. 15. *vide Sif. Poli Syn. in loc.* under the Law it is notorious; *Calvin* proveth it from *Zach.* 13. 4. whereupon he approveth it; in *Matt.* 23. 5. it is evident Chriſt had ſuch a Garment, and *Euſ. l.* 3. *c.* 25. relates S. *John* the Evangeliſt wore the Prieſt's Weed; our *Greg.* notes, *p.* 112. that in the *Alcoran* the Apoſtles are called *El Havariuna*, the White men,

Viri

Viri Veſtibus albis induti, as it is tranſlated, becauſe clothed in white Apparel; It is probable they would imitate their Maſter, who did wear a long Linen Coat, *Rev.* 1. 13. this was as *Martin*: *Lex Tunica Sacerdotalis Linea*, ſo *Bull.* ſuch as the Levitical Prieſts uſed, *Lev.* 6. 10. and *Lev.* 16. 4. which the Prieſts of the Goſpel when ordered, ought to doe, ſaith *Marbach. Profeſſor of Divin. in Strasbourgh*, which *Gellaſius* in *Geneva* durſt not deny, *vid. Syn. in loc.* and *Peter Mart.* hath evidenced the practice from good authority, This was not then a Popiſh invention, nor is now with the Papiſts one of their maſſing or conſecrated Garments.

2. The Sign of the Croſs, againſt which the *Vir Doctiſſimus (Parker)* in *Videlius* hath drawn a long Charge in Folio, is for all his clatter both ancient and innocent: Mr. *Perkins demon. Probl. p.* 82. grants the permanent ſign was accuſtomed about *an.* 300. and the tranſient (which is that in uſe with us) was for the firſt 300 years after Chriſt practiſed in the common concerns of life, as a ſignificant Ceremony, juſt for thoſe ends we uſe after Baptiſm, as is

is ſpecified in the Rubrick, and *Can.* 30. *Tertullian* often mentions the uſage, ſo doth Saint *Cyprian*, as in *Ser. de Lapſ. p.* 217. *Ed. Eraſ. frons cum ſigno, &c.* the ſigned forehead; and *Tract. cont. Dem. p.* 149. *qui renati & ſigno, &c.* who are baptized and ſigned. S. *Hier. Prol. in Job. ſecundum* 70. apologizeth for himſelf thus, *viz.* What *Aquila* and the judaizing Hereticks, *Symachus* and *Theodotian* may undertake, that much more may I, who am a Chriſtian, born of Chriſtian Parents, & *vexillum crucis, &c.* carrying on my forehead the banner of the Croſs. The cuſtome then being ancient and innocent, becauſe obſerved in the beſt times, it ought to be retained, and for its better obſervation be enjoyned by authority, certainly not laid aſide to gratifie humorous people.

3. As for kneeling at the receiving of the holy Sacrament, though there be not ſo clear a *conſtat*; yet this is plain, the Ancients uſed the ſame geſture they did at prayer, which never was that of ſitting, which neither in it ſelf hath, nor in the eſteem of the Ancients ever had any thing of reverence;

Tert.

Tert. de Orat. c. 12. proteſts againſt it, and *Ameſius, c.* 18. *de Conſc. p.* 191. rejects it, becauſe not expreſſive of reverence, nor approved in Scripture. Now kneeling was the ordinary cuſtome, *Euſeb. l.* 8. *c.* 5, 8. ſtanding was at particular times and places, which they uſed as a ſignificant Ceremony, yet when they ſtood, they bowed the body after the manner of worſhipping, which is ſufficiently proved by that received rule, *Nemo manducat, &c.* Let none communicate but he who firſt adores; ſo that ordinarily they kneeled when they received, and when they did not, they worſhipped. The beſt reformed Churches uſe kneeling, and the beſt learned of thoſe who do not, acknowledge it a geſture of humility and reverence, which, where it is conſtituted, ought to be uniformly obſerved. The Genevians, in their *Annot.* on the harmony of Confeſſions, are well content every particular Church ſhould uſe her liberty in ſuch caſes; particularly they make mention of kneeling at the Communion, and uſe of all ſuch Ceremonies as now are obſerved by the Lutherans, Copes, Organs, *&c.*

and had been used before by Papists, *Annot. Sect.* 14. *Obs.* 4. *ad Confes. Bohem.* As an upshot to this, when an English fugitive Separatist, proposed his *Thesis, de Adiaphoris*, at *Geneva*, he could not be permitted to discuss them.

The whole may be drawn up in this order.

Ceremonies are lawfull things, some of this kind are expedient, these expedients ought to be significant, these may and occasionally ought to be imposed, these so imposed are to be observed, and those we practise *cæteris paribus* are to be settled rather than any other, because thereby we honour our first Reformers, we obey our lawfull Superiours, we keep up our alliance with other reformed Churches, sure with the chiefest and best; and which is more, we hold a firm correspondence with the primitive and present Catholick Church.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

AS for the obſervation of Holidays, the Grandees of the Sectarians ſeemed once willing to admit Feſtivals, provided they were not called Holidays; which was nothing elſe in them but a ſilly ſour ſingularity and moroſity; for more learned and much better men than they never ſcrupled at the name. Mr. *Perkins, Demonſt. Problem. p.* 232. *n.* 6. aſſerts this; Holy they are, not in and for themſelves, but for the holy duties then performed to God. Dr. *Rivet* in *Ex.* 20. *p.* 167. declares, A relative holineſs belongeth to them, and they might very properly be called Holidays, *ratione finis*, in reſpect to their ends and uſes, being ſeparated for holy exercifes. So they were conſtituted and obſerved in the primitive Church. S. *Chryſ. Hom. in Aſcen.* hath aſſured us, The Catholick Church obſerved ſix recurring anniverſary Solemnities in memory of Chriſt's Nativity, Epiphany, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion and miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt.

The

The matter of fact is notorious. In the Reign of *Diocleſian*, *an.* 294. and by the Greek Menology, on the twenty fifth of *December*, the Chriſtians aſſembled to commemorate the Birth of our Lord, whereof the Emperour having received intelligence, commanded the doors of the Church to be ſhut, and fire ſet to it, which ſoon conſumed both them and it. *Julian*, in an helliſh deſign, joyned with the Chriſtians in their publick Aſſembly on the ſixth of *January* called the *Epiphany*. The Feſtival (for it's called by *Phil.* μεγάλη ἑορτὴ) and the Faſt of our Saviour's Paſſion was ſolemnly celebrated, and that from long cuſtome, *Euſ. l.* 2. *c.* 16. The diſpute ſo early ſtarted about the time of the obſervation of *Eaſter* puts that beyond diſpute. *Juſt. Mart. Reſp. ad Orthod.* 115. ſpeaks of its being kept ἐκ τῆς Ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων, from the Apoſtles time; *Euſeb.* ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῆς Ἀποστόλων, *vid. Euſ. l.* 5. *c.* 23, 24, 25. and *S. Aug. Ep.* 119, *ex authoritate Scripturarum, & univerſæ Eccleſiæ conſenſione.* The Ancients called Aſcenſion *Teſſaracoſtæ*, *Scal. de Emend. Temp.* many are their Homilies on that day,

• *Conc.*

Conc. Elib. c. 43. treats of *Whitſuntide*, as an ancient Solemnity, cenſuring all thoſe who neglect it as Hereticks. The matter of fact is backed with a good reaſon. For if the primitive Chriſtians were ſtrict in the obſervation of the Birth-days (as they were called, but indeed Death-days of the Martyrs) we cannot imagine they would be forgetfull of the joyfull days wherein the Lord, and the Lord of the Martyrs, begun, continued and perfected the work of the Redemption of mankind: But evident it is thoſe days were religiouſly obſerved. *S. Cypr. l.* 3. *Ep.* 6. expreſſed his great care and zeal thoſe commemorations and ſolemn Offices ſhould not be ſlurred. *Rivet. in Ex.* 20. *p.* 154. ſaith, *Ratio poſtulat, &c.* Reaſon requires, that not onely certain days, but ſufficient be retained, even as many as the right conſtitution, ſafety, good of the Church and the glory of God requires. For we being exonerated from the Jewiſh yoke, may have more, ought not have fewer days for the ſervice of God than they had, but they had more than one in ſeven, ſome whereof were of humane inſtitution.

This

This he confirms, *p.* 163. *Quod de die*, &c. that which was expresly said of the Seventh-day, by analogy and parity of reason, respects any day which the Church hath appointed, and in common use hath observed for holy Meetings: whereupon all Interpreters do conceive, not onely the Lord's day, but all other lawfully instituted Festivals are comprehended under the Fourth Commandment. But a good word from *Geneva* may doe more service, than all other authorities and reasons. Hear a whole gang of Genevians at once, Every Church may use her liberty in observing Ember-days, and Holidays consecrated to the godly memory of the Saints. *Annot. in Harm. Confess. Sect.* 16. *Obs.* 1. *ad Conf. Boh.* and retain the use of singing Christian Hymns and Songs upon the Holidays; *Obs.* 2. *Zanch. in Expl. c.* 2. *ad Col.* so far approves them, that though he thinks there is no absolute necessity for them, yet there is a profitable necessity in their due observation; Bishop *Dav.* in his exposition of the same words, hath furnished us with three substantial reasons, who will, may consider them.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

THE laſt which is oppoſed, is the Doctrine of the Church, exemplified in the Book of Articles. The Independent *Sophi* hath expreſſed ſo great kindneſs for 36 of them, that by his Verdict, woe be to him that ſhall diſpute them, no leſs correction will ſatisfie his tender Conſcience than exile; but away with the other three, if they be not removed, no *recipe* of reformation or condeſcenſion will work kindly with him. All this is but a Copy of his Countenance, when he puts on his conſidering Cap ſomewhat elſe muſt march off and be disbanded. Certainly for his dear ſake, and the good ſervice he expects from his Herd and Comerades, the ſix Homilies againſt Rebellion muſt be caſhiered, and caſt off to the dogs. Well! This is onely one Doctour's opinion; A very good Friend of his would have the nineteenth Article quite cut off, becauſe therein (as he ſagely gueſſeth) the Church is defined directly as the Inde-

pen-

pendents define it. In good time! till theſe two be agreed about the definition of the Church, there is little hopes of the much talked of Union; how this noble reflexion will go down with him, let him certifie when the project of Union is effected; but for his comfort, that he may take heart again, that ſuggeſtion of the noble Peer was the product of his malice and ignorance. For the Church of *England* reprobates Independency (which is, that every particular Congregation is an independent Body, not ſubordinate to any ſuperiour Eccleſiaſtical Authority, as *Spanhem. Ep. ad Dav. Buch. p.* 74. with *Rivet* and *Poliander* might have enformed him) as a ſingular ſchiſmatical Sect, purely Donatiſtical: yet if the Doctour be offended that his beloved Friend thus girds at Independency, perhaps his other folly, that the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Articles are dark, and not ſo full as he deſires, may regain his favour; Whether it doth ſo or no is not conſiderable, men of clearer eyes and better ſet think otherwiſe. For they have reſolved, that the Church of *England* had gone ſo far in theſe points,

points, as could with perſpicuity, and ſafety be concluded from the Scripture. *Moſ. Amyr. de Seceſſ. ab Eccl. Rom. p.* 160. *& inde.* Biſhop *Daven. de pace inter Evang. Proc. p.* 20. *& ad pacem Eccleſ. adhort. p.* 146, 147. This is certain, they were variouſly ſtated by Proteſtants both at home and abroad. What the judgment of *Melanct. Bulling. Eraſ. Sarcer. &c.* was, is well known. What our Biſhop *Hooper* held is fairly diſcovered in his Epiſtle to the Reader prefixed to his Treatiſe on the Ten Commandments: what Biſhop *Latimer*, is found in his Sermon on *Phil.* 3. and on *Septuageſima*, and in his Sermon on *Acts* 13. 48. This is remarkable, many in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, returning home from *Geneva*, broached *Calvin*'s Doctrine here, one whereof wrote a ſmart Letter to an ancient Divine, who had been exiled too, charging him for his oppoſition to that Doctrine with Pelagianiſm, whereunto he, *ſecundo Eliz.* framed an Anſwer, wherein he purged himſelf and others of his judgment from the imputation, and by way of recrimination proved the Calviniſts to be Pelagians.

gians. But a dapper younker, and through paced Bigot, is not onely angry at theſe before excepted, but falls foul on the Sixth Article; what moved him at this, I cannot conjecture, unleſs he bogled at the *Apocrypha*; but perhaps I may gueſs what heated him againſt the One and Twentieth Article; forſooth, in his wiſe judgment, the Kirk with its Provincials may meet, *&c.* without the King's leave firſt obtained, and ſit too contrary to his expreſs command. I may alſo poſſibly hit at his diſpleaſure at the Thirty Fourth Article, becauſe by it he and his Drove muſt be concluded Schiſmaticks. Great reaſon he had to keck at the Thirty Sixth Article: For when he was preſented to the Claſs of revolted Miniſters with their Lay-Elders for Ordination, they were not provided at firſt for a caſt of their Office; for not knowing how to pick out a form of Ordination from the Directory, they were at a loſs till they received one from *Scotland*, and then they gravely proceeded; to work they went on all hands without any ſcruple, that they had ſtinted the Spirit in the uſe of that ſet Form.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

HAving conſidered the ſubject matters according to the rules of Religion, ſomewhat remains to be added from the common meaſures of prudence to over-rule any motion tending to an alteration; which are to be taken from the reſolutions of wiſe Heathens and Chriſtians, who have foreſeen and diſcovered the danger and miſchiefs of ſuch attempts, and then to make it appear, that thoſe perſons for whoſe behalf, or their own inſtance, ſuch a motion is made, are not qualified for ſuch a reſpect.

SECT. I.

Num. 1. Conſidering Heathen have decried all innovations in religious matters, eſpecially *Plut. in Camil.* is poſitive, *viz.* Subjects are to be kept in conformity to the Worſhip of their Countrey by a coercive power, διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπίνων, *&c.* becauſe mens humours and paſſions are ſo irregular and irrational,

tional, that reſtraints muſt be ſet upon them, which he proved from common obſervation, ὅπῃ μὲν, &c. Men by the fierceneſs of their depraved diſpoſitions, are now hurried into ſuperſtition and ſedition, and anon fall into prophaneneſs and irreligion. *Mæcenas* in *Dio*, adviſed *Auguſtus* τὸ μὲν θεῖον, &c. above all things do thou thy ſelf worſhip the Deity according to the Conſtitution of the Countrey, and enforce others by puniſhing obſtinate Recuſants; and doe thus not onely for God's ſake, but in good policy for thine own and the Countries. For if the refractary Fanaticks and Changlings be not curbed, they will plot and move for alterations in the Law, whereby συνωμοσίαι, &c. Conventicles will be formed, in which Conſpiracies will enſue to the danger of Monarchy. Upon this counſel the Emperour gave this following ſtrict charge to the Senatours, τοὺς κειμένους, &c. Maintain the ſettled Laws vigorouſly, giving no way to change, aſſigning this reaſon; for thoſe things which continue in the ſame ſtate, though perhaps worſe in themſelves, are yet more profitable for the

the publick. *Lipſ.* from *Stob.* tells, that when a noble Peer taxed *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, with tyranny, becauſe he commanded the penal Laws to be put in execution, ſawcily ſaying, μανία, *&c.* This is madneſs not government; the King ſoberly and mildly replied, This my madneſs keeps my Subjects in good order, *viz.* The Fanaticks and Hypocrites in their right wits, and the peaceable Loyal in their juſt rights. It was no bad order, that whoſoever ſhould make a motion for a change, ſhould preſent it with an halter about his neck, unleſs he could make it appear to be juſt, reaſonable and practicable.

Num. 2. Chriſtians are of the ſame mind. *Lact. l. de Ira Dei, c.* 12. ſaith, *Quid erit in homine truculentius, &c.* What can be more horrid in man than that without fear of God, he can elude or defie the force of Laws? *Euſeb. l.* 8. *de Præp. Evan. c.* 2. ſhewing the happineſs of the Jewiſh State under *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, attributed this to their concord, and to their excellent temper of mind, in that they abhorred

all innovations, esteeming it the chiefest point of prudence, not to enterprise any thing which might infringe or abate the tenour of the Law. The Presbyters and Deacons of *Rome* writing to S. *Cypr. l.* 2. *Ep.* 7. are very positive, *Quid magis, &c.* What can be more necessary either in times of peace or persecution than to exercise due severity, according to Divine order? S. *Augustine* fully, *Tract.* 11. *in Joh. Admirantur Donatistæ, &c.* The Donatists wonder that Christian Princes should bestir themselves against the detestable dividers of the Church; but to abate their wonderment he subjoyns this reason, *Si verò, &c.* If they did not labour to suppress them, how could they give an account to God of their power which they had received from him? because it is the duty of Christian Kings that they in their times preserve their Mother the Church in peace. That smart saying of his, *Ep.* 73. *Possid.* is not to be forgotten, *Magis quid agas, &c.* Think rather what course you are to take with those who will not obey Laws, and how to handle them, than to trouble your

self

ſelf to make it appear that their diſobedience to Laws is ſinfull. This alſo ſhews that the Chriſtian Emperours did make ſevere Laws againſt the Schiſmaticks of thoſe times; ſo did *Conſtantine* and his Sons, *Aug. Ep.* 166. *Ed. Baſ. To.* 2. ſo did *Valentian*, *Gratian*, *Theodoſius*, *Arcadius*, but *Juſtinian* took the ſafeſt courſe, for, the Hereticks being great traders, he came even with them, none ſhould trade, εἰ μὴ μόνοις, *&c.* but the Orthodox, the reſt had ſix months given them to conſider whether they would conform or no. Evident it is that as the Emperours handled them, ſometimes more ſevereley, ſometimes more remiſsly, (as the exigence of their affairs, and ſtate of the Empire would permit,) the Church and State did accordingly enjoy their peace and quiet, or elſe were peſtered with inteſtine broils and miſchiefs. The Governours of the Church were not behind hand to doe their part; for the Laodicean Council forbids them admiſſion into the Church, *c.* 6. prohibits any Orthodox man to give his Sons or Daughters in marriage unto them, *c.* 31. yea not to pray with them,

c. 33. and though it be true S. *Aug.* and *Optat.* called the Donatiſts Brethren, yet at laſt they would not; that was, after that they had rejected or laid aſide the uſe of the Lord's Prayer, as many of our Fanaticks have done. But above all, *Solomon* prohibits the removal of what had been long ſettled by paternal power, *Prov.* 22. 28. which the Epheſine Fathers with many other Ancients, have applied to Church Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions. Hereupon all wiſe men have dreaded the diſſolution and abolition (which is the Puritans work of Reformation) of what hath been firmly eſtabliſhed by good authority, finding the provoking and irritating of humours by medicines in order to a cure, have oft proved mortal; and have oft reſolved, a tolerable ſore is much better than an hazardous application for a remedy. The Lawyers have a ſaying, Better a miſchief than an inconvenience, which can ſignifie onely this, that a remedy by admitting onely an inconvenience hath oft proved more miſchievous in the event, than the miſchief they endeavoured to avoid; becauſe every notable

table change of State is apt to produce a world of unavoidable miſchiefs, it being morally impoſſible upon the exchange of a miſchief for an inconvenience to prevent a new ſet of miſchiefs, which are not ordinarily found till they be felt. It is notorious, that even prepoſterous and unſeaſonable preſſures of preſent remedies againſt either ſome preſent conceited miſchiefs, or fanſied inconveniences hath choked the heart of all the main and principal concerns which ought firſt to have been reſpected, and fruſtrated all thoſe great ends whoſe advancement hath been pretended; and whilſt the greateſt care of our Patriot Reformers ſhould have been neither to tempt God, nor to weary and harden his Vicegerent, they have moſt impudently, imprudently and wickedly provoked both by their rebellious actings, and prepoſterous courſes. *Heu! probatum eſt,* witneſs, (not to go farther back) our late Excluſioners and No-money-men.

Num. 3. Admitting a change be ſubmitted to, this will not gain nor ſecure thoſe that are given to change;

For upon every ſuch change, they are ready ever and anon to change their principles and practices. The Donatiſts, the great Grandſires of our Sectaries, did ſo; at firſt they yelped, *Quid Imperatori, &c.* What had the Emperour to doe in Church affairs? but S. *Auguſtine* tells us, with the change of the times they changed their note; for, taking their time, they petitioned *Julian* the Apoſtate *(ſupplicantibus Rogatiano & Pontio,* ſaith *Opt.)* for liberty of Conſcience, which he readily granted them upon an helliſh deſign *(ut per ſacrilegas diſſenſiones,* as S. *Aug.)* that by their ſacrilegious diſſenſions he might deſtroy Chriſtianity hip and thigh, root and branch, if poſſible. Thus it fared with our *Boutefeus*, they ſadly complained and heavily declaimed againſt thoſe Laws (and do yet) which our moſt Chriſtian Kings had enacted for the keeping their Subjects in obedience, with penalties upon the ſeditious diſturbers of the peace, and tranſgreſſours of Law upon the ſame Donatiſtical principle; yet upon the lamentable change of the times they procured from the *Junto*'s Keepers, and

Noll,

Noll, cruel Edicts againſt the regular Sons of the Church, which were executed (as Biſhop *Sanderſon* truly noted) without juſtice or mercy, that they had reaſon to complain, as S. *Auguſtine* did of the Donatiſts they were ſo miſchievous, *ut Barbarorum facta, &c.* That the actings of Barbarians were more mild than theirs, *Aug. Ep.* 122.

Num. 4. All the forementioned Petitioners did earneſtly ſolicite for the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law, avouching a change thereof was unjuſt, moſt impious and uncharitable. They had reaſon ſo to doe; for that abovecited Text, *Prov.* 22. 28. doth at leaſt inſinuate, that it is contrary to all Religion, equity and prudence upon every motion or ſingular humour of abſurd and unreaſonable Male-contents or Phantaſticks to diſcompoſe or unhinge what our prudent and fatherly Governours have induſtriouſly ſet for the publick peace and tranquillity, and have been long received with the approbation and full ſatisfaction of all good and peaceable Subjects. But there is another Text, *Prov.* 24. 21, 22. which

which probably wrought on them to be ſo zealous for the eſtabliſhed Religion; *My ſon, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, for their calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?* A ſad caveat this! deſtruction is awarded not onely on the changelings, but on the moderate medlers, who are agitatours, mediatours and apologizers for them; who though they will not juſtifie them, yet dare plead for them, ſpeak a good word for them, and as much as they can with ſafety to themſelves palliate and ſmother their crimes. Theſe though, *ſtylo novo*, they be called, or miſcalled the moderate, ſober party, yet they anſwer not the name. For they are either crafty deſigning evil men, or well-meaning, but eaſily-deluded men; and generally are ſuch who carry fair to all, true to nothing but intereſt; faſt friends to Mammon, and underminers of the Government.

Num. 5. That ſeverities are to be exerciſed on tranſgreſſours of Law, we may warrant from Scripture. God

ſettled

ſettled the Eighth and Tenth Commandments, which he improved by an explanatory Act, *Deut.* 19. 14. which after he revived by an additional Act with a ſmart penalty and ſanction, *Deut.* 27. 17. to heighten and enforce the obligation. That this was God's intention, is evident from the Ceremonies adhibited in the promulgation, which were not performed in common but ſolemn form. For the Levite was enjoyned to proclaim the Sanction with an audible voice, the people were to give their aſſent and conſent thereto by pronouncing *Amen.* The Jewiſh Tradition is, that one moiety of the Tribes ſhould ſtand on Mount *Gerazim*, the other ſix Tribes on the deſcent of Mount *Ebal*, the Levite ſhould pronounce both the bleſſing and curſe appendant to the Law, (*Joſh.* 8. 33.) firſt turning his face to Mount *Gerazim* he publiſhed the bleſſing, *viz. Bleſſed is he that removeth not, &c.* then wheeling about to Mount *Ebal* he denounced the curſe, *viz. Curſed is he that removeth his neighbours Landmarks.* Wretchedly miſtaken then are our Fanaticks in their Caſe-divinity, who

who reſolve it is ſufficient for them, when reſolved to affront the Law, to ſubmit to its penalty, as if the mulct were deſigned, not the duty, and this the rather becauſe they are provided with variety of ſhifts to get off ſcot-free. For though in thoſe Laws which are, *purè pœnales*, merely penal, for their violation this ſubterfuge may hold, becauſe the will of the Law-giver may be either the performance of the duty, or undergoing the penalty as a competent ſatisfaction; yet in thoſe which are termed mixt penalties, partly moral (not onely civil) partly penal, the evaſion will not relieve them, becauſe the intention of the Law-giver is regular obedience, the penalty is onely reſpected as a more effectual means to induce and infer the preſcribed duty, and to prevent all neglects and contempts. The ground of enacting and exacting ſuch penalties is taken from common obſervation, *Meliores ſunt, quos amor, &c.* Good men love Government, and their Governours, whom they will readily obey; The Law is not made for a righteous man, 1 *Tim.* 1. 9. but the many, the

mobile

mobile muſt be kept under the awe of Sanctions, and the laſh of the Law, *Ariſt. l.* 10. *Æth. c.* 9. hath long ſince obſerved, ὃ γὰρ πεφύκασιν, *&c.* Men do not uſually obey out of reſpect [or conſcience-ſake] but for wrath, and fear; neither do they abſtain from evil for its baſeneſs and badneſs, but for the puniſhments attending thereon. S. *Aug. l.* 2. *cont. Pet. c.* 83. hath excellently declared the great benefit of penalties annexed to Laws. *Timor pœnarum, &c.* The fear of puniſhment, if it doth not remove the errour, yet it will prevent its ſpreading malignity; if it take not the cauſe away, yet it hinders moſt of its miſchievous effects.

Sect. 2. They for whom the motions of union, comprehenſion and toleration are intended and promoted are not perſons qualified for ſuch reſpects. For,

Num. 1. Ever ſince any of their perſuaſions appeared in the world, which was *an.* 1536. the ſame year that Jeſuitiſm crawled abroad, they have been noted and cenſured as a moſt

moſt turbulent, unpeaceable generation, of the ſame temper with thoſe of whom the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh, *I labour for peace, but when I ſpeak unto them thereof, they make them ready for Battel.* Upon their firſt riſing, *Zwinglius* diſcovered a ſtrong malignant humour in them, inſomuch that when *Oecolampadius* had a deſire to entertain them in Offices of truſt, he cautioned him not to own them, but for all that he went on in his project of comprehenſion and union ſo far, that at laſt he found himſelf miſtaken, and confeſſed, he had undertaken a matter of more diſcommodity than profit. *Gualter* reputed them ſuch virulent Incendiaries, that in a Letter to Dr. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, dated *Mar.* 6. 1574. he paſſed this ſharp cenſure on them, If they begin in this ſort, having not full poſſeſſion of their Kingdom, what ſhall we think they will doe, if they obtain abſolute authority? and in his Letter to Dr. *Sands*, Biſhop of *London*, he thus concludes, *Quare video, &c.* Wherefore I conceive we ought to be very carefull leſt from the wounds of the Roman Monſter, not yet well ſubdued, a multitude

of

of mad-caps ariſe. *Bullinger* compared them to the Roman Tribunes, a ſeditious Sect, poſſeſſed with an unſatiable deſire of rule and principality. What thoſe judicious obſerving men had eſpied in them, we of this Kingdom have felt and found to ſome purpoſe. In *Edward* the Sixth's time, they with might and main obſtructed the pious and moderate endeavours of our firſt Reformers by their loud and lewd clamours, which gave the Papiſts an occaſion to reproach the Reformation as tumultuous; whereupon the Government thought fit at once (if poſſible) to ſilence the virulent calumnies of the one party, and ſatisfie the groundleſs ſcrupuloſities of the other, by framing another Edition of the Common-Prayer-Book with this Proteſtation, There was no harm in the firſt. This the clamorous party were offended at, and ſecretly repined at, yet becauſe it was ſeconded with a ſevere Sanction, they durſt not publickly inveigh againſt it: ſo proved it is, if Religion and reaſon will not prevail with them to a conviction, yet ſeverity will ſtill them from murmuring and tumult.

tumult. In Queen *Mary*'s days many of them were exiled, a condition which might have calmed their furious and raging ſpirits, yet even then, they raiſed thoſe ſcandalous troubles at *Frankford*, which begot ſuch heats and animoſities as were never ſince wholly allayed. For hereupon thoſe ſquabbles and conteſts which ſoon after happened in Queen *Elizabeth*'s days were heightened. The peace of the Church was diſturbed, and the minds of the people diſtracted with the ſenſeleſs brawlings of *Whittingham*, *Gilby* and *Goodman*, who had the impudence to juſtifie *Wiat*'s rebellion, aſſerting his cauſe was God's. Great were the inſolencies of *White*, *Rowland* and *Hawkins*, when they appeared before Dr. *Grindal* then Biſhop of *London*. Hereupon the Pope thought it a ſeaſonable opportunity to fiſh in theſe troubled waters; and then followed the Rebellion in the North, and the Spaniſh Invaſion, *&c.* In all which her Majeſty's diſtreſſes, the Puritans cunningly working upon her neceſſities, ſtill perſiſted in their turbulent outrages, vexing her righteous Soul with ſeditious Petitions and virulent

lent Pamphlets, ſuch as the *Admonition*, *Diotrephes*, *Have ye any work for a Cooper*, &c. Theſe high provocations and affronts to Majeſty occaſioned thoſe expreſſions from Archbiſhop *Whitgift* (who, in Dr. *Fuller's* judgment, was one of the worthieſt Prelates that ever the Engliſh Hierarchy did enjoy) *viz.* If the Puritans be not ſharplier dealt withall, than hitherto they have been, they would not onely tear aſunder this Church with Schiſm and Faction, but in time overthrow the whole ſtate of the Kingdom, and work more harm than ever the Papiſts did: and again, If way be given to their clamours and ſurmiſes, it would cauſe that confuſion, which hereafter the State would be ſorry for. Theſe alſo provoked the moderate and famous Martyrologiſt *John Fox* thus to cenſure them, I wonder (ſaid he) *Quis tam turbulentus genius*, &c. what turbulent Spirit hath poſſeſſed thoſe factious heads of the Puritans, they are cunning Impoſtours, canting Jugglers, ſubtile contrivers of miſchief, who will never give over till they have brought all into bondage, &c. at laſt he comes

off with these sad thoughts, If ever they gather strength in this Kingdom, it troubles me to relate what sad commotions I foresee, *Ful. Hist. l. 9. f. 106.* What the one foretold, and the other foresaw, we have seen and found: yea Queen *Elizabeth* her self, after a long trial of moderate ways, said, Such are the restless Spirits of that factious people, that no quiet was to be expected from them, till they were utterly suppressed. Nevertheless the Government still thought by forbearance and mildness to have prevailed with them for an answerable peaceable behaviour, which proved by their peevish obstinacy ineffectual. But a Plot being discovered against the State under colour of Reformation, *an.* 1591. in the Thirty Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth* a sharp Act of Parliament was framed, which proved so advantageous to her, that during her after Reign the Furies durst not be over-active. The Queen dying, they grew big again with hopes and expectations of better success, which proved like the untimely fruit of a woman. But being stirring Animals they by their Emissaries into *Scotland* had

the

the advantage of being the firſt who ſaluted and complemented King *James*, moving him withall for a Reformation. The wiſe King knew them too well to truſt them, accounting them more falſe than any Moſs-troopers or Outlaws. What his anſwer was to their motion is uncertain, in all probability it was a civil declinator, referring the caſe to farther conſideration. For, upon his coming into *England*, he was efforted with the *Millenanus* Petition, which was convincingly confuted by both Univerſities, and ſlighted by the King, yet ſo, that he promiſed them a conference at *Hampton* Court, which proved as unlucky to them, as the Diſputation *Primo Elizab.* had been to the Papiſts. Meeting then with theſe diſappointments they cooled in the queſt of their Reformation-work by Petitions and Motions, falling upon new methods of miſchief. Theſe were by malicious cloſe ſuggeſtions to infuſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies into the minds of well-meaning men. To manage which more advantageouſly for their deſperate and deſtructive deſigns, they, perceiving the

people to be great lovers of an Imaginary Liberty, and of the eſtabliſhed Religion, plaid their Game under the colour of advancing the Liberty of the Subject (which they reſolved to engroſs) and the preſervation of the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law (which they intended to deſtroy) by degrees thus cunningly working themſelves into a State Faction. To make this more popular they ceaſed not to alarm the Kingdom with the deſperate ends the Papiſts propoſed to themſelves. This ſtrategeme they ſo cloſely followed and craftily improved, that in the firſt Parliament of the moſt Chriſtian King, *Charles* the Martyr, an incomparable Prince in all religious and honourable accompliſhments, they induſtriouſly repreſented the growth of Popery, and the dangerous Plots of the Papiſts and popiſhly affected, that the thoughts both of King and People being taken up with theſe fears, they might without obſervation increaſe into numbers and ſtrength. The King well enough diſcerned this, though at firſt he would not make it openly known, hoping the Gentlemen would calm, but they

grew

grew madder; therefore at long run, in the Second Seſſion of this Third Parliament, he was neceſſitated to tell them roundly, That he looked on this pretence, as a deſign to divert from all ſuch buſineſſes as he had recommended to them, under colour of taking care for this. But by purſuing theſe arts they at length got the *Militia* of the Kingdom at their diſpoſal, being aſſiſted thereto by the perjurious, treacherous practices of the Schiſmatical and Atheiſtical Members of the great City, and ſeconded by an Army of moſt perfidious, hypocritical Scots, with whom they agreed for brotherly aſſiſtence upon moſt diſhonourable terms. Now to find out their hypocriſie, they, (being thus prepared) left the Papiſts unmoleſted, as an inconſiderable party not worth looking after, farther than to drive on their deviliſh deſigns; to which end, they remitted to ſome the penalties of the Law exacted for their Recuſancy. *Pym*, one of their great ſticklers, took a bribe of thirty pounds of one of them, as was averred againſt him, *his Majeſty's Declaration, Aug.* 2. 1642. others of them they ſeduced

from their Loyalty, entertaining them in their Army, twenty or thirty being taken in one Troop or Company, *his Majesty's Declaration* upon the Battel at *Edgehill*. (This the Villains in great hypocrisie objected against the King) and promising to others, if they would assist them against the King, they would repeal or relax all the penal Laws against Recusancy. Nay, they publickly declared, *Octob.* 6. 1642. That if the Papists would bring in any considerable Sum upon the Propositions (those, by which they had drawn from the City and other Counties eleven millions; the Authour of the History of the two *Junto's* says more) they should be received; and its credibly reported, they hired *Owen Roe O-neal* to raise the Siege at *London Derry*, when beleaguired by his Majesty's Forces, *Hist. Ind. Part* 2. *p.* 245. What dismal effects those practices at last produced are generally known; yet this ought to be remembred, That overtures upon overtures, condescentions upon condescentions, concessions upon concessions were not onely offered but confirmed to them, which onely emboldened and animated them

them to farther inſolent and unreaſonable demands: They had always nineteen Propoſitions in readineſs, which they knew could not be granted in honour or conſcience; if they had, they had more in their Budgets, or elſe the old ones muſt have a new conſtruction to ſuit with the ſenſe of the *Bigots* and *Bouteſeus*, in good earneſt, true Proteſtant Gypſies and Guſmans; which will be fullier diſcovered in the next conſideration.

Num. 2. They are a partial hypocritical pack, a match for any *Muſties* or *Jeſuites* in their black Arts. *Smectymnuus* will be hard enough hand to hand with *Sanders*, *Campian*, *Parſons*, *Garnet* and *Oldcorn*: The two Independent *John's*, *J. G.* and *J. O.* will at any hour of the day venture a paſs with *Joh. Mariana*, and *Eudæmon Johannes*. To exemplifie this note by inſtances. Once a crew of them reſolved, It was in the Princes power to reform or remove an ungodly Clergy, their meaning was, to collogue a little, and to ſtep into their preferments, wherein when they failed, then the

tide turned. Princes have nothing to doe in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, but to execute the Decrees of the Kirk, which gallant Mr. *Traverſe* thus held forth; They are to ſubmit their Sceptres, &c. which by his reference to *Iſa.* 49. 23. is in plain Engliſh to ſay, They are to lick the duſt of the Presbyters feet, and kiſs their toes. In *an.* 1605. a Club of them proteſted, The Magiſtrate needs not reſpect Law, he may diſpenſe with it, or favourably interpret it (ſure enough for their ſakes) but if he practiſe it, where they are not concerned, then the cry goes, he attempts an arbitrary Government, their liberty, property, and Religion lies at hap hazard. Sometimes the Law is a Bulwark to fence out Tyranny, on a ſudden its an humane invention, and God's people muſt order their lives according to God's word, and doe the work of their heavenly Father. Now they have ſo great reverence for Oaths, they are not free to take them, anon they will glibly down with them, and again vomit them, and Apologize for the violation of them; no Oaths can bind the Conſcience againſt the Reformation,

Eng-

England's Reprover, p. 158. and the Oaths we have taken muſt not be examined according to the interpretations of men; ſo *Marſhal*, foreman of *Smect.* and Brother *Downing*. O falſe Lads! who can play at faſt and looſe with their Conſciences, which are ſo very tender, that they can bend and bow to every opportunity of advantage. If they have no intereſt to ſerve, or can maintain, and keep it without conformity, they muſt not conform for a world; but if the loſs of Offices of truſt or profit, or hopes of gain to themſelves or advantage to the Cauſe fall into their view, they can ſubmit and perform what is required in the 25th. *Car.* II. Time was when the thirteenth to the *Romans* was onely ſafe counſel, or a politickly contrived Ordinance, when King was the King in his Courts, not in his perſon, and the damnation threatned, was lying in Priſon, or ſuffering on a Gibbet; The caſe is ſoon altered with the times, and then upon every revolution Saint *Paul* ſpake no longer like a Stateſman, but as a Caſuiſt, not in point of prudence, but Conſcience, firſt to the Patriots,

then

then to the Keepers, then to *Noll*, in all which changes, damnation was changed from loss or bondage into wrath to come and eternal vengeance. For a long time their talk was of Providence, and their successes; first their cause was God's cause, which he would prosper for their sakes (his People, his secret Ones) and for his promises, whereof they had a large stock in the Old Testament, and the *Revelations*; (this had a strong smack of prophaneness) then God prospered their cause, therefore it was God's cause, (a pure Mahometan conclusion;) now that its at a loss, the note is, (and mark it, I beseech you) God in the ways of his Providence towards us walks in the dark, the good people must unite till the day appears, and the good hour comes; in the mean time, let us make our appeals to God, as the *Newcastle* Conventicling Doctour *Gilpin* held forth, *an.* 1671. and be very carefull that our zeal to God be not interrupted by our duty to the King; but above all, be free to support your painfull pretious Preachers, that we want not tongues and hands for the old cause.

They

They conſtantly condemn that in others, which is their common practice. Monopolies were once a grievance, yet the Drivers were very liberal in their Grants of ſuch to their officious tools, *King's Declaration, Aug.* 12. 1642. and in his Declaration concerning the Treaty at *Oxford.* They made an hideous hubbub that ſubſcription to ſome Articles of peace was required of thoſe that pretended a deſire to take upon them the miniſterial Function, yet they themſelves were rigid exactours in the like caſe. They ſcorn all the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, as the Precepts of men, but every one at his peril muſt ſubmit to the orders of their Synods. They fiercely inveigh againſt Impoſitions; Oh! they are apt to whet humane nature (very humble patient men they the mean time) to wild and forbidden courſes; (This looks not onely like a charge againſt the Government, but a threatning too) yet theſe murmurers againſt lawfull authority interdicted the Common-Prayer-Book by penalties from five pounds to ten, *&c.* and obtruded the Directory by a penalty from five pounds to fifty: and

that

that Imposition of *July*, 25. 1684. was at once both Antichristianly traiterous and tyrannical. They tartly tax the Romanists (justly enough as to the matter of the charge) for clipping and cutting the Tongues of their Writers, yet most unjustly, because hypocritically, as to themselves, who use the same craft. That most perspicuous passage of *Calvin* in his Epistle to Cardinal *Sadolet*, wherein he declareth, They deserve to be anathematized who reject Episcopacy, where it may be retained (which is really to pronounce an Anathema on all our English Sectaries) is quite purged out in the two latter Editions of *Beza* and *Gellasius*. This was discovered by the Right Reverend and learned Authour of that Treatise called, *The Serpent Salve*, *p.* 220. What was to be found in the *Argentorate* Edition of *Bucer*, is left out in the *Geneva*, as *Grotius* informs us. The Authour of the *Friendly Debate*, *Par.* 2. *p.* 404. hath detected the like fraud in corrupting Dr. *Sibbs*'s Treatise called, *The Souls Conflict*. The words of *John Careless*, in reference to the Common-Prayer-Book, at his exa-

mina-

mination by Dr. *Martin* were exemplified in the firſt Edition of *Acts and Monuments*, *fol.* 1531. which in the ſecond Edition, by the Legerdemain of the then Puritans, were not to be found; ſo in the Edition which I had and carefully ſearched, I could not find what Dr. *Hammond*, (*View of the Directory*, *p.* 17.) relates of *John Hullier* to the ſame purpoſe, which makes me ſuſpect ſome Sectarian *Hocus* in that alſo. That they corrupted the laſt Books of Mr. *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, may probably be concluded from what we find reported in the Book called, *The Life of Hugh Paters*: and laſtly, that when the Book of the *Thirty Nine Articles* was printed, they procured the Twentieth [*viz.* That the Church hath power, &c.] to be left out. If it were certainly known what their deſign was in the Tickets which were diſpatched into the ſeveral Counties, before Saint *Bartholomew*, 1662. their hypocriſie would be ſo laid open that no Apology could be made. Thus much I know, it was to aſſure their inferiour ſort of Miniſters, that with their good leave, they might comply and conform, and

if

if they prevailed in the design they were then carrying on, notwithstanding their present compliance, they would favourably entertain, and as it should happen, prefer them.

Num. 3. They are a singular Sect, divided from the whole visible Church, and every particular regularly formed Church throughout the whole Christian world. This we are sure, if they lived in any such Church, and acted there in opposition to their established Forms and Rites, they would be concluded unsufferable Schismaticks, and be more sharply handled than here they are or have been. They are true Ishmaelites, *Ishmael was a wild man, his hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against him*, Gen. 16. 12. They conclude all the Christian world besides their Brethren in iniquity to be Antichristian, and all Christian Churches condemn them as Schismaticks. They dissent from this Christian Church whereof they are or ought to be Members, and in that respect they dissent from the Catholick Church primitive and successive; But this, say

some

ſome, is hard meaſure, they are our Brethren, and our Proteſtant Brethren. In good time! that now at laſt (upon a miſchievous deſign which is eaſily underſtood and might be ſoon manifeſted) Malignants from 40 to 60 ſhould be taken in into the number of the Brethren; ſure we are, they received harder meaſure from theſe their falſe Brethren, than *Jacob* did from his Brother *Edom*, *Obad.* 10, *&c.* They are in the Scripture notion ſtrange Brethren, who can find in their hearts to plunder, and murther their now lately adopted Brethren. But how comes theſe (dear Brethren with a miſchief) to be dubbed Proteſtants? Are they ſo called becauſe they diſſent from all Proteſtant Churches? Proteſtant ſignifies with them another thing than a reformed Catholick, which every Proteſtant is, or elſe he is no true Proteſtant. Three acceptations of the word [Proteſtant] are now in faſhion; for firſt, Proteſtants are a Set of pretenders in oppoſition to, and excluſion of all others who profeſs Chriſtianity, if this be their notion they are pure Donatiſts, and the excluſioners have as much

much Antichriſtian pride and uncharitableneſs, as the Pope, or his moſt bigotted Papalins; it's an aſſumed name, ὄνομα ἐπίθετον, as the Greeks name it, who juſtly eſteem every ſuch a badge of diviſion and apoſtaſie. *Lact.* (a Latin too) thought ſo, *Chriſtiani eſſe deſierunt, &c.* They ceaſe to be Chriſtians, who, forſaking the name of Chriſt, uſurp to themſelves humane and alien denominations. Or, ſecondly, Proteſtants are but Antipapiſts, all who renounce the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and oppoſe the Pope's Sovereignty, without any more to do, commence Proteſtants; in ſhort, they are no Papiſts, therefore they are Proteſtants, or which is far more abſurd, they are enemies, ſworn and foreſworn enemies to Epiſcopacy and Monarchy, and they then are true Proteſtants. The Demagogues, and Sectaries do frequently thus ſenſe it, which is indeed to reproach it, and make it odious to all who love peace and truth. For then all Doctour *Stillingfleet's* Gnats, which are now metamorphoſed into Vipers, then all Doctour *Burgeſſes* putredinous Vermin of bold and frantick

Secta-

Sectaries (ſo he honoured them *Ser. before Comm. Nov.* 5. 1641. who erewhile were his Bandogs, which he let looſe and hounded on the King and Biſhops) muſt be honoured with this title. Then Socinians, Anabaptiſts, Familiſts, Antinomians, Swinckfeldians; yea, all Mr. *Baxter*'s Jugglers, the Hiders, whom he ſubdivides into Vaniſts, Paracelſians, Weigelians, Behminiſts, *&c.* with his Seekers, whom he again ſubdivides into ſix more vile ranks, muſt be dignified with this (not to be deſpiſed, as not to be too much extolled) title. Or, laſtly, Proteſtants were thoſe learned and pious men, who endeavoured the retrieval of the Primitive, Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith and Uſages from the innovations and corruptions which had overſpread and polluted the Church. What they did was to reduce the Church into its primitive ſtate in the ſimplicity and purity of Faith, and redreſs abuſes in practice, reſerving ſtill a power in each particular Church to determine for it ſelf, what God hath left undetermined for unity, order and edification, with the cloſeſt conſonancy to the rules and

observations of the ancient Catholick Doctours and Fathers. If this (which indeed is the true notion of the Appellative) be intended, the Diſſenters are to all intents and purpoſes for ever barred from any claim to it, unleſs they mend their manners, which is ſcarce to be hoped. For as a learned man obſerved, They know they are in the wrong as well as we can tell them, but all the world will not make them confeſs and amend. As the caſe now ſtands, they cannot challenge any right either to the name or to the thing. Not to the name; for neither they, nor any of their Sect were in *Germany*, *an.* 1529. when the Diſciples were firſt called Proteſtants, upon a proteſtation and appeal from the Decree of *Spira* unto *Cæſar*, and a General Council. Nor to the thing; For neither they, nor any commiſſioned by them, did ever ſubſcribe to the Auguſtan Confeſſion, neither will they now be concluded by it, nor will they ſubmit to the harmony of Confeſſions induſtriouſly drawn, as the proper Teſt of Proteſtancy, to diſtinguiſh true Proteſtants from falſe pretenders to the name. It

is

is therefore mere mockery to affirm them Proteſtants, who proteſt againſt true Proteſtancy, and the reſolutions of all formed Proteſtant Churches. But if they muſt be called ſo, it muſt be by an odd Figure, the ſame by which a ſchiſmatical, traiterous Conventicle patched up of Clergy-men, Stateſ-men, Sword-men and Lawyers was once called an Aſſembly of Divines. Their agreement (if any ſuch there be) in the ſame common principles of Faith, (which are arbitrary as to them,) will not gain them the denomination of Proteſtant, nor beget the relation of Proteſtant Brethren. For then the Pope and his adherents muſt be Proteſtants, and our Proteſtant Brethren to boot; and with great reaſon, becauſe they earneſtly contend for the firſt Principles of the Oracles of God, and Doctrines of Chriſt, which ſeveral of the Fanaticks either oppoſe or ſcruple. Dr. *Stillingfleet* will not blame the Papiſts for believing too little, but too much, which theſe heretical Blades are faulty in too, as well as they. The Pope, or Church of *Rome*, by a preſumed infallibility of judgment from a

Divine endowment assumes a power to declare (which in practice is to mint and coin) Articles of Faith; so the Sectaries hold forth their singular opinions, and Enthusiastical dotages, as demonstrations of Spirit: More plainly thus; The Roman Chairman with his Conclave or a Council, takes upon them to define false or disputed opinions, as matters of Faith, which thereupon they enter into their Creed, to be believed as absolutely necessary to salvation; The Sectarian Chairmen with their Benchers and Associates pass Problems in their Systemes and Synods for Divine Revelations and Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, which they exemplifie in their Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith, as the Oracles of God. Now they are as infamous prophane prevaricators of Divine Law, who preach up their private fancies, and sentiments, for infallible Soul-saving Doctrines, as those who equalize their particular Traditions with the infallible word of God. The learned and judicious Bishop *Davenant* thought so, *Adhort. ad Pacem. Eccles. c.* 1. *p.* 43. I (says he) think it is all one to obtrude our

our controverted points on the Conſciences of men in the ſame degree of neceſſity with the moſt perſpicuous Doctrines of the Goſpel, as to confound unwritten Traditions with the written word of God. Mr. *Newcomen*, a ſprig of *Smect.* is herein poſitive, Their holding (ſpeaking of thoſe who withdrew Communion from the Presbyterians, and gathered themſelves into ſeparate Congregations) one Head, and one Faith doth not excuſe them of downright Schiſm, ſo long as they hold not one Body and one Baptiſm, *Serm.* at *Paul's Croſs, Febr.* 18. 1646. The total ſum is; The Religion eſtabliſhed by Law in this Church from which they ſeparate, is either the true Proteſtant Religion, or not; if not, then none of the Tranſmarine Reformed Churches, underſtand the Proteſtant Religion. For all of them do own this as ſuch, and every of them will prefer this before any other but their own, which moſt men are apt to overvalue. If it is, then the Abettors of a Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt different from, and oppoſite to it, do confound and deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion

and interest, and the Dissenters from it are not to be reputed Protestants, but a singular schismatical Sect.

Sect. 3. Having proceeded thus far, that there ought not be a Reformation of the present Establishment, whether we respect the matters upon which this Innovation-work must depend, or the persons for whose behoof it is proposed and designed; on a sudden up starts a new Set of men misnomened, the moderate or sober party, who lately in the Kirk's censure were detestable Neuters. These, though no fast Friends to the cause, yet are well-wishers to it, as appears by the pleas they put up in its behalf, the chiefest whereof is, (the rest are pitifull Umbrages) There is no way left to prevent Popish Idolatry (which they too truly affirm to come on apace by our divisions) than by condescension to, and compliance with the Dissenters; But this smoaky shadow is soon dissolved and blown away.

1. In point of prudence; It is a madness to shift shoulders, or in our Nothern Proverb, to leap out of the Frying-

Fryihg-pan into the Fire. *Dum ſtulti, &c.* or in a ſtorm at Sea to bear up from a Rock and run deſperately upon a Sand, where the Ship will be as certainly ſtranded and wrecked with the loſs of the Mariners and Paſſengers. It can be no part of prudence to precipitate our ſelves into thoſe waſting deſtructive confuſions, and tragical deſolations and miſeries out of which by the all-wiſe providence of our good God we have ſo lately eſcaped, to prevent a remote poſſible danger, and to part with our religious and civil Liberties, to gratifie a generation of Vipers and Hypocrites who will never be gained by any condeſcenſions, nor can be agreed with, unleſs they have their inſolent as well as trifling demands to an infinite proceſs granted. This is all one as to put my Coat a daying (in another of our Northern Saws) when I know, he who ſeeks it will ſtand to no award, unleſs I give it him.

2. In Caſe Divinity, we may not doe evil, that good may come thereby, a good intention will not hallow a bad action; neither to decline one evil of ſin, may we hurry into another.

No Casuist ever resolved, it was lawfull to commute one wickedness for another. It cannot be Religion to prevent an imminent suspected danger, by contracting and incurring the certain guilt of Schism and Sacrilege, both which are as opposite to Christian piety, especially when maintained with pertinacy. This is known, the ancient Christians equalized Schism with Idolatry, which was then of highest figure; and certain it is, that *Korah*'s Schism, or perhaps Mutiny onely, was more dreadfully avenged than the grossest Idolatry; even Schismaticks themselves will confess it an heinous crime but to countenance or abett a Schism. And if Mr. *Calvin*'s judgment may be taken, S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 2. adjudged Sacrilege to be a sin of the same kind with Idolatry. Now to separate from that Church, which, in the judgment of the most eminent Protestants, is the best Reformed Catholick Church, is Schism; and to refuse to give God that external adoration, which under the Gospel belongs to him, is Sacrilege; in both which respects the Dissenters being criminal, they are found guilty

by

by publick judgment both of Schiſm and Sacrilege.

SECT. 4. The deſign of the premiſſes is not to exaſperate them, that is more than needs, their rage and malice is at full Sea, they are already ſo madded, they will follow their courſe, (if not ſtopped by an high hand,) with or without any external provocations; but to diſcover their aims at preſent, which is to make us forget their former actings, and to hope well of them for the future, and over and above to evidence they are juſtly compared to the worſt of Papiſts, the Jeſuites. For,

Num. 1. Their avowed principles and actings are originally Jeſuitical, ſuch as their diſpenſing with Oaths lawfully taken, their induſtrious ſuppreſſion of Kingly authority, their Doctrine of propagating by ſome of them, and by others of defending, Religion by the ſword againſt lawfull authority. They have taken upon themſelves as ſo many Popes to command or prohibit matters of Doctrine and Diſcipline, merely, *ex imperio voluntatis*, by an arbi-

arbitrary power. They have ſworn and vowed to maintain an ambulatory cauſe, never to be convinced of an errour, or to confeſs that ever they were in the wrong, and their Herd and Partizans have aſſociated and engaged to believe all the Declarations, to obſerve all the crackt Ordinances, to preſerve all the claimed Rights, and uſurped Privileges of the Caballers, and to ſtand by and aſſiſt theſe their Repreſentatives and worthy Patriots with their lives and fortunes, right or wrong, in a blind obedience, all which are as bad, and ſome of them worſe than any Jeſuitical Vows.

Num. 2. Such pernicious methods as they have ſometimes openly purſued, and at all times are cloſely purſuing, makes a ready way for Popery; firſt viſibly, by dividing and diſtracting the Church, and obſtructing and fruſtrating all methods of Union; and ſecondly, more covertly, it being utterly unaccountable for the Church to yield, eſpecially conſidering that nothing will ſatisfie them, unleſs they be acknowledged the godly conſcientious

Party,

Party, whereby they keep up their reputation with the Rabble, who upon that ſuppoſition will be ready to joyn with them in any of their confounding deſigns, and all their former deteſtable actings be pronounced juſt and warrantable, and their traiterous War againſt the King be declared lawfull; but ſuppoſing that in theſe or ſome of theſe they ſhould be gratified, yet that will not ſerve the turn, unleſs Schiſm be ſettled by Law, which if once it be, the Papiſts will gain this advantage, our Religion is unſtable, feveriſh and (in Mr. *Baxter*'s expreſſion) vertiginous. This is obvious, our Church and Religion will not be ſo defenſible againſt the Papiſts, as it is by preſerving and ſupporting its preſent Settlement.

Num. 3. It is evident the preſent Diſſenters walk in the ſame track the former Rebels had trodden out, which they are unwilling to have recounted to them, becauſe they have ſtill a deſire to follow it. Thoſe made ſharp reflexions on the Government, multiplying the errours (which were moſtly feigned)

feigned) and misfortunes thereof, to amuse and distract the populacy, and alienate their affections from it; so do these. Those told us the Sectaries were innocent harmless Creatures; so do these. Those boasted of their numbers and interest; these much more and higher. In brief, what those pleaded for themselves and their unaccountable actings, these do with virulent and pernicious improvements. Now may these drive on their designs in the same way they always first set out to harden the people against their lawfull Superiours, and shall not the true Sons of the Church endeavour to undeceive them, and endear them to love, honour and obey the King, and all respectively that are in authority under him? If we may not discourse of their former actings, why was the King's Book published, and appointed to be kept in all Churches? or why do we observe annually the 30th. of *January*? Is it onely to tell stories of the barbarous villanies that day committed? and not rather to eneline and effectually move us to repent of those wicked principles and practices preparatory to them?

them? If the Sectarian Rebels may talk of the Papiſts and their Plots, notwithſtanding the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, why not the affectionate Royal uſe the ſame freedom againſt the Puritans? The endeavours of both Papiſts and Puritans when inviſible and under ground are equally dangerous, when viſible and acted above board equally miſchievous. Never was there a Rebellion contrived with greater hypocriſie, begun upon leſs provocations (*ubi minus motivum majus peccatum*) nor managed with more ſavage barbarities, than that of the late Schiſmatical Sectaries and Republican Atheiſts; even that moſt execrable Popiſh Rebellion in *Ireland* ſeems not to exceed it, ſcarce to equal it. The differences of both are laid down by a very knowing excellent perſon, in his Tract (formerly mentioned) entituled, *Serpent Salve, p.* 193. *& inde.* Indeed the Kirk Traitours profeſſed they were grieved they were compared with Papiſts in point of allegiance and fidelity, and that therein they ſuffered an hard conſtruction from all the Reformed Churches (*ergo*, the Reformed Churches thought

thought them Rebels) *Petit. of Commiſ.* of the Kirk of *Scotland* preſented to his Majeſty at *Oxon*, by Mr. *Alex. Henderſon*, *Jan.* 4. 1643. his Majeſty's anſwer thereto is moſt remarkable, particularly what he declared in reference to the Iriſh, *viz.* We profeſs our diſlike of their Religion, but though we think them worſe Chriſtians, becauſe they are Rebels, yet we think them not worſe Rebels, becauſe they are Papiſts; A Proteſtant Rebel in the ſame degree hath far more to anſwer, as having more light, and it being more expreſsly againſt the Religion he profeſſeth, whereof heretofore it hath been a Maxime (though now it be taken for Apocryphal Doctrine) not to take up Arms againſt their Prince upon any pretence whatſoever. The Stateſmen of the Faction, and the Presbyterian Pol's declared as traiterouſly as the Jeſuits did. No man could better evidence this than his late Sacred Majeſty, who hath fully done it in his Proclamation againſt levying of Forces, *Jun.* 8. 1642. and in his Declaration, *Aug.* 12. 1642. How the Presbyterian Miniſters held it forth may be ſeen in the Book

called

called *Evangelium Armatum*; and in another entituled, *Diſſenters Sayings*; To whoſe Collections I ſhall add, *viz.* a Book called *Scripture and Reaſon*, publiſhed by divers Divines, and ordered by the Committee to be printed, *Apr.* 14. 1643. *Jus Populi*, 1644. *p.* 1. *Souldiers Catech. paſſim. Polit. Catech.* Licenſed by Mr. *White*, *May* 20. 1643. *L. S.* in his Book called *Natures Dowry*, *c.* 10. in the title. Mr. *Dury's* Conſiderations with *Caryl's Imprim.* 1649. Mr. *Price*, one of their *quondam* Brethren, ſays, As the Conſtitutions of publick affairs vary among us, ſo do the Conſtitutions of theſe mens Sermons (*viz.* Presb.) alter and change, *&c. Pulpit Incendiary*, *p.* 7. and in his *Clero Claſſicum*, *p.* 17, 18. Can you preſume we are ſo dull, as not to obſerve your partial and crafty handling of the word of God? do not your practices ſettle and eſtabliſh Atheiſm, Irreligion and Prophaneneſs, *&c.* and *p.* 53. You told the people that the King was a man of bloud, and took hold of all whiſperings and hear-ſays of his wickedneſs to make him odious to the people; and *p.* 40. You took the Covenant, and having taken

taken it, you turned and winded it, making it look East and West, North and South, as your interest wrought, *&c.* and from *p.* 32. to 35. he proves the horrid Regicide to be an act agreeable enough to their declared judgments, quoting several passages out of Presbyterian Authours. Mr. *Philips* (in his *Veritas inconcussa*) assures us, when the business of the Treaty (that of 1647, as I suppose) came into discourse, the Assembly of Divines quickly resolved (all of them but four) to be against it. See for this also *Considerations touching the present Factions in the King's Dominions*, *p.* 6. Add to all these the *Edenbourgh* Remonstrance, *Mar.* 1. 1648. the Declaration of the General Assembly in *Scotland*, *Jan.* 10. 1648. Dr. *Owen's* Fast Sermon, *Jan.* 31. 1648. *p.* 5, 15. *Brooks*, *Cockraine*, *&c.* But the *Newcastle* * Presbyterian (who was after his death honoured with a Monument, with high Elogies in Hebrew, Greek and Latin) was more than Jesuitical in his Doctrines, which were these,

* *Woolsall.*

1. All

1. All Government is derived from the People.

2. The Governours appointed by them, in caſe of male-adminiſtration, are to be queſtioned by them.

3. If the preſervation of the King's perſon be incompatible with the preſervation of our ſelves, and our Religion, then the depoſition was no breach of Covenant.

4. In the Oath of Allegiance a condition is implied, *viz.* to be true to the King ſo long and ſo far as he is true to his truſt, otherwiſe the obligation ceaſeth.

5. In the depoſition of the King his Poſterity ceaſeth as to that right.

6. We juſtifie not the perſons proceeding againſt the King, but we juſtifie the fact: ſo that upon the point, Presbyterians might proceed againſt the King, but not Papiſts (ſo old *Goodman*) nor the Independents, nor other Sectaries, but onely the Presbyterians by this man's opinion; which juſtifies Mr. *Price*'s cenſure in his anſwer to the *London* Miniſters Letter to the general Council of War, *Jan.*8. 1648. that they

thought the taking away the King's Life [in that manner] (for that's their phraſe) was unjuſtifiable, but it might be done warrantably enough in another manner; and it juſtifies what *Noll* ſaid of them, Presbyterians are not ſo much troubled at the King's death, as that they had not the chief hand and ſtroke in it. Laſtly, before theſe troubles broke out, a ſecular Prieſt, *Watſon, quodl. ſecund. Art.* 1. to that queſtion, Whether the Jeſuits or Puritans were more dangerous, paſſes this cenſure, That the Jeſuits are more dangerous, not that their intent againſt the Church and State is more malitious than that of the Puritans, but becauſe their manner of proceeding is more covert, ſubſtantial and orderly in it ſelf, their grounds more firm, *&c.* as having many ſingular fine Wits among them; whereas the Puritans have none but *groſſum Caputs*, ſo that if matters come to handling between Jeſuits and them, they are ſure to be ridden like fools: but had he lived from 41, till 80. he would have found they were as great Artiſts in the myſteries of iniquity as his Brethren the Jeſuits or him-

himſelf. For they have a more Serpentine and ſubtile way in training up their Proſelytes and Novices, upon theſe three accounts:

1. They initiate them with Faſtings, ſolemn Vows and Promiſes, Sermons and Sacraments, though thereby they proſtitute all the Ordinances of God, to enchant and bind them faſt in the Confederacy.

2. They then inſtruct them in the moſt refined myſteries of equivocating and mental reſervation; *Ferguſon*, Dr. *Owen*'s Champion, and *Lob*, Mr. *Baxter*'s Second, ſhall vie Loyalty with any Jeſuit, and practiſe Treaſon as cleverly, and out-doe them too in a Plot. *Lewes*, the uſurper of a Loyal Miniſter's Living at *Totnam-high-Croſs*, by a Farce, educated his Scholars (for he was a Schoolmaſter to Gentlemens Sons, as well as Preacher to the People) in the art of King-killing, by ſetting up an High-Court of Juſtice, arraigning, condemning and cutting off the head of a Shock-water-Dog. Mr. *Long*'s *Comp. Hiſt. of Plots*, *p.* 186. ſo that after our Church and State-menders are

moulded into a Faction, the Jeſuits may go to School to them to receive full inſtructions in the art they had learned them: yet here is a trick the Jeſuits never taught them, which is, to be ſo fool-hardy as to threaten the Government, which both of late, and heretofore they have done; *Cartwright*'s Prayer was, Give us grace as one man to ſet our ſelves againſt the Biſhops. *Penry*, in his Supplication, threatned the very Parliament with bloud-ſhed if they did not reform. *Udal*, in great confidence, ſaid, Presbytery ſhall prevail, and come in that way, and by that means, as ſhall make all their hearts to ake that ſhall withſtand it; all this laſt clauſe is extant in the Records of the *Star-Chamber*: The Confeſſions and Subſcriptions of *Coppinger* and *Arthington* are found in Dr. *Coſins* his Book entituled, *Conſpiracy for a pretended Reformation.* From all which premiſſes it abundantly appears, they are a traiterous, turbulent, hypocritical and ſingular Sect, and therefore no true Chriſtians, no true Proteſtants.

3 They

3. They teach their followers never to confeſs when examined by lawfull authority, or if they do, yet ſo auckwardly and ambiguouſly that nothing can be fairly concluded; which they induſtriouſly doe to obſtruct juſtice, and ſo baffle the Law that it cannot have its due courſe againſt the vileſt and rankeſt Mutineers. This in one old inſtance (new ones abound) from *Ful. Hiſt. l.* 9. *p.* 209. That Mr. *Stone* freely declared, (contrary, it ſeems, to the judgment of the main body of the Faction) that ſilence unlawfull which juſtly cauſeth ſuſpicion of evil, as of Treaſon and Sedition, (See more in Biſhop *Bancroft's Survey*) which how frequently of late hath been practiſed, is too notorious.

Sect. 5. Seeing then the Puritan principles are as dangerous as the Jeſuitical, and their practices, when proſperous, as deſtructive; no reaſon can be aſſigned by the received rules of common prudence, why Puritans ſhould enjoy the privileges of comprehenſion, *&c.* and the Papiſts debarred. For common prudence will determine all

under the ſame guilt ſhould be liable to the ſame ſentence of condemnation. What the reaſons of State may be to grant a toleration or privilege to one party and not to the other is not to be diſputed or ſawcily examined by inferiours, or if the Government pleaſe to relax or repeal the Laws to both. This is plain, the higher power may with as good reaſon diſpenſe with the execution of the Law, as inferiour, whether Charter or Commiſſion Officers, may wave and in a manner out-law them in favour of a party, though thereby they run the hazard of perjury and perfidiouſneſs. All wiſe men (as a great wiſe man hath obſerved) deſire to live under ſuch a Government, where the Prince with a good conſcience may remit the rigour of the Laws; as for thoſe that are otherwiſe minded, I wiſh them no other puniſhment but this, that the penal Laws may be ſtrictly executed upon them, till they reform their judgment. If therefore the arguments which are alledged for the ſtanding of the Laws againſt Papiſts be good, as I am perſuaded they are, then the ſame reaſons will much more evince

the

the Laws againſt Puritans ſhould ſtill be upheld, which will the better appear, if thoſe arguments be produced and applied. They are theſe,

1. The queſtion is, whether Treaſon be not Treaſon becauſe a man thinks himſelf bound in Conſcience to commit it? It is reſolved in the affirmative.

This turns the Puritans pretence of Conſcience in the like caſes quite out of doors, for no man's Conſcience can alter the nature of things, that that which is evil ſhould become good, becauſe his Conſcience, that is, his corrupted judgment, tells him it is ſo; or that which is good to become evil, by a perſuaſion of Conſcience, that is, becauſe he is ſo inſtructed or conceited. Now the Jeſuits are as ſtrait laced in their Conſciences as the Puritans are, thinking themſelves as faſt bound by the Popes Decrees and their own Vows, as the Puritans do from their Swearings and Leaguings, or from the Votes and Reſolutions of their Demagogues.

2. Whether Magiſtrates have not reaſon to make ſevere Laws, when dangerous and deſtructive principles to Government are embraced as part of Religion? It is affirmed.

Here the caſe is the ſame again, both parties aver the lawfulneſs of reſiſting the civil Magiſtrate under colour of Religion, both hold the ſame treaſonable principles in ſubſtance and terms, differing onely in the power to warrant them. The Jeſuits deriving it from the Pope, the Puritans from the determinations of their Kirk Aſſemblies, or their Patriots; and this we know, this Kingdom would never endure to be ſo far enſlaved to the Pope as it was to that traiterous Crew: Inteſtine broils, confuſions and uſurpations are more deſtructive than the challenges and filchings of a Foreigner; and our late glorious King ſaid, It was more honourable for a King to be invaded and almoſt deſtroyed by a foreign enemy, than to be deſpiſed at home. *Bibl. Reg. p.* 286.

3. Civil Magiſtrates have in them a natural inherent right and power to preſerve the Government, and puniſh

thoſe

thoſe who diſturb it, or would overthrow it, and therefore an authority to judge of thoſe actions which are dangerous to it. This hath been determined by the Civil Magiſtrate, that the actions of both have been and are dangerous to the Government, and over and above, that the actions of the Puritans tend to the diſhonour of God, to the prejudice and ruine of the ſafety and peace both of Church and Kingdom; witneſs the preambles to the firſt and ſecond Acts of Uniformity, and many more.

4. Where there is a ſuſpicion of a number of perſons not eaſily diſcerned, the Laws may make uſe of certain Marks to diſcover them, although it happens that thoſe (as praying and preaching) be actions of Religion, which are not therefore made the cauſe of their ſufferings, but thoſe principles and actions which were the firſt occaſions and motives of making thoſe Laws; for the performing Offices of Religion or of their function is not the motive of the Law, or the reaſon of the penalty, but merely the means to diſcover their perſons, not as the thing which makes

them

them guilty, but as the way of finding out the guilty.

Then the Puritans meeting and conventicling in deſpite of Law is a way to notifie their guilt, and when they ſuffer for the performance of that which they call their Calling, though as to many of them never called thereto either by God or man, from and under him, they ſuffer not for their praying and preaching, but for their principles, which they have maintained, and will not yet retract, and the actions which they practiſed, and ſtill would juſtifie; neither is their praying and preaching the cauſe of their ſufferings, but are onely the means to diſcover the perſons of thoſe who are of ſuch dangerous principles, and inclined to act according to them.

5. In a jealous time, when many treaſons have been acted, and more are feared, by bad principles, the Government may juſtly proceed upon the trial of the principles to the conviction of the perſons who own them, without plain evidence of the particular guilt of the outward actions of Treaſons. For he that owns the principles of Treaſon

wants

wants onely an opportunity to act them, and therefore in great dangers the not renouncing thoſe principles may juſtly expoſe them to the Sentence of the Law.

By this the Puritans are concluded as well as the Jeſuits; for as theſe ſtill adhere to the Papal Sentence, ſo they to their former Reſolutions, who have acted as many ſorts of Treaſons as the wit of Lawyers could diſcover. Maſter *Baxter*, one of the Fanatick Chieftains, cannot yet ſee he was miſtaken in the main Cauſe, nor dare venture to repent of it; yet dare ſay, he would not forbear the doing of the ſame thing, if it were to doe again, *Holy Commonwealth*, *p.* 489. ſo ſaith their Foreman, ſo ſay they all; yet *Ameſius*, *l.* 4. *de Conſc. c.* 15. tells us plainly, They who will not confeſs and recant publick wickednesſes are ſtill impenitent, which if they be, they are in a forwardneſs to react them when they dare. But it is ſaid, They are at preſent harmleſs innocent Creatures; ſo the Donatiſts, when they could not doe miſchief, (juſt as Thieves are honeſt when manacled) boaſted of their great humanity

nity toward the Orthodox; ſo did *Petilian*, to whom S. *Aug. l.* 2. *adverſus Pet. c.* 83. did thus reply, *Iſto modo, &c.* A Kite is a Dove when he cannot ſeiſe of a Dove, *Ubi enim, &c.* For when, I pray you, did you ſpare us, when you were able? and when *Rogatian* (a great Stickler for Toleration) made the like bragg, S. *Aug. Ep.* 48. *ad Vincen.* anſwers, *Nulla beſtia, &c.* There is no beaſt reputed tame becauſe it hath neither teeth nor talons to doe hurt withall; you ſay you will not miſchief us, I rather think you cannot; for how will you not doe what poſſibly you can, ſeeing you ceaſe not to be doing and plotting when you can doe nothing at all?

6. In quiet times, the Law being in force keeps perſons of dangerous principles more in awe, (though it be not rigorouſly executed) who will be very cautious of broaching and maintaining their principles, and conſequently have not ſo bad effect as when they have liberty to vent them.

The Fanaticks are herein more bold and inſolent who preſume (though they have no liberty granted) to aſſert their

their ſchiſmatical Fancies and enthuſiaſtical Dotages, witneſs *Rich. Baxter's* and *J. O's* Writings, with many more, that we cannot affirm the times are quiet and peaceable. For peace is not onely expoſed to external force and outrages, which is the common acception, but to the not having the ſame mind in love and accord, which is the Scripture ſenſe; and it is a ſweet concord of many Souls knit together in what is honeſt or good, or ſubſervient thereto: while there remains bitter envyings, animoſities and driving on of contrary intereſts by clandeſtine contrivances, the deadly feud continues: when men treat and carry fair in common civilities one with another, when they huckſter and barter by the entercourſe of commerce or trade, yet their heads and hearts are at an irreconcileable diſtance; this cannot in a Chriſtian be called quietneſs, it is rather ſecure injuſtice or uncharitable diſſimulation.

7. There can be no ſufficient ground given for the total repeal of Laws firſt made upon good grounds, where there is not ſufficient ſecurity given that all

thoſe

thoſe for whom theſe were intended have renounced thoſe principles which were the firſt occaſion of making them; becauſe the reaſon thereof ſtill continues, while no good ſecurity is given, or if any be tendered, 'tis deluſory untill the greateſt ſatisfaction be given as to their ſincerity, which can hardly be ſuppoſed, if their Oaths and proteſtations cannot be ſafely truſted.

This is home to the Papiſts, but juſtly applicable to the Puritans, who are ſo far from giving good ſecurity, that they give counter-ſecurity, in the worſt ſenſe, obſtinately perſiſting in their ſchiſmatical Separation from the Church whereof they are Members, and in their defiance to the Laws of the Kingdom. For either they utterly refuſe a ſubmiſſion to the firſt declaration, whereby they declare, they will give no ſecurity, or elſe collogue with it, taking it *propter lucrum ceſſans*, or *damnum emergens*, which is clearly to give no full ſatisfaction as to their Sincerity, becauſe this they doe not in obedience to authority, but to drive on an intereſt. Theſe therefore are not ſafely to be truſted; and as they

• juggle

juggle with this, ſo with the Second, either refuſing to engage not to deſtroy the King and his Government, or Jeſuitizing upon all the Clauſes thereof, as may appear fully from theſe following remarks.

The firſt period is, It is not lawfull upon any pretence to take up Arms againſt the King, *&c.*

The Reſervation is, as the caſe now ſtands, for that he will not part with the *Militia*, or as long as the King is in a condition to defend himſelf, and protect his Subjects, which they will by all means endeavour to render impoſſible for him to doe, if not, we have no obligation to be ſubject; For we have been taught, and are perſuaded, that ſubjection and protection are relatives; and therefore where protection is not afforded, nor can be expected, ſubjection is no duty.

The ſecond is, I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking up Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon.

The ſecret evaſion to this is, yea, till we receive a farther light, or providence otherwiſe determine, or the Patriots vote to the contrary. Godly

Mr. *Jen-*

Mr. *Jenkins* rightly ſtated the caſe, the *Newcaſtle* Presbyterian ſtinted us a time, for ſo long as he is the Peoples Truſtee, which he is not, if he fail in his truſt, whereof the good People are the Judges, and if he be depoſed, we need neither to reſpect his Perſon nor his Authority.

The third is, I will conform to the Liturgy, *&c.*

The reſervation is, though we are not free, yet for once we can and will conform, becauſe we ſhall thereby ſecure our Places and Offices, and keep our Employments and Truſts, and be in a condition to befriend the Clanns who have canvaſſed hard for us, and better enabled us to drive on an intereſt and manage a Plot.

The fourth is, I do hold there lies no obligation upon me or any other perſon from the Oath commonly, *&c.*

The evaſion is, very right, if we make uſe of any external force or violent reſiſtence; but for all that, we may meet, draw Diſciples after us, form Parties, inveigle Confederates, hold correſpondence and receive intelligence from the *Whiggs*; but this is farther

farther to be obſerved (which mark we beſeech you) though we will not attempt any alteration of Government upon the ſcore of the Covenant, yet there is an obligation ſo to doe from other principles, *Nature's Dowry, &c.* with many impertinent Maximes, and mangled Precedents; but eſpecially from that connatural and gratefull thing which we call Self, ſuch as Self-preſervation, Self-intereſt, Self-conceit, and twenty Selfs more, which we muſt not part with for a world, as we are inſtructed by pretious men from good Book-caſes.

The laſt is, The ſame was an unlawfull Oath, and impoſed upon, *&c.*

Here many of them ſtick, but they will plunge through, ſuch experienced Maſters are they in the craft of ſhuffling, they will make or find an hole to creep out at, when cloſely beſet. Some dare pretend an unlawfull Oath is ſtill obligatory, others plead the Oath was lawfull as the times went, the then preſent Laws were on their ſide. But that blunt blade ſpoke the ſenſe of the Guzmans, who ſaid, Oaths whether they were taken or not have

no effect; For (ſays he) if the matter be antecedently lawfull, it remains ſo after the Oath, and then whether it be taken or not, the obligation is no more nor leſs than it was before the taking, which is to ſay in plain Engliſh, If we renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, yet the matter being antecedently lawfull, they are obliged notwithſtanding the abrenunciation conſtantly to adhere thereto; others of them again have a faculty to conjure up a ſet of diſtinctions, to evade the force of any Oath, as *Pryn*, *Marſhall*, *Downing*, who tell you, either interpretations muſt be put upon them, or they will not bind againſt the work of Reformation, the end of the Covevant muſt be purſued, ſwear what we will to the contrary. *Hollingworth* of *Mancheſter* ſtood cloſe for the Covenant, but he diſputed as hotly againſt the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance as *Mattheus Tortus*, alias *Bellarmin* ever did. The *Anonymus* true Nonconformiſt, will allow the Oath of Allegiance to be taken, provided it be interpreted by the Covenant, which may not be croſſed; but he bids open defi-

ance

ance to the Oath of Supremacy as an Antichriſtian badge. King *James* found by experience, along while ago, no Oaths will bind them; we have greater reaſons to believe his experience, having had far more trials of their falſeneſs and inſincerity than ever he had; even the Covenant it ſelf will not hold them if it be their intereſt and advantage to break it, becauſe it is the Reſolution of their own Caſuiſts, That an Oath obligeth not in the ſenſe of the impoſer but the taker; but, which is much more monſtrous, ſome of them aſſert, That the ſwearer is neither bound to the meaning of him who exacts the Oath, nor to his own meaning who takes it, but to the reality of the thing ſworn, as it ſhall be hereafter at any time explained by a competent Judge. All their Declarations, Remonſtrances and Appeals to heaven and the world are but mockeries contradicted by practice.

8. Some love to pretend that a ſmall alteration in eſtabliſhed Laws would ſatisfie them, to try, if by theſe arts they could bring the wiſedom of a Nation to yield to them in that, and

when they have obtained it, a thouſand objections would be raiſed that never before were mentioned.

This is a right Puritan prank, experimented in the late times of confuſions, and in our preſent circumſtances; ſeveral matters have been ſtarted which at firſt they never ſo much as dreamed on, certainly never ſpoke of them. So much hath been already yielded as would not onely ſatisfie but endear any modeſt meek perſons under their circumſtances, but we are never a whit the nearer that mark which was aimed at in thoſe condeſcenſions. Nay yield what you can with honour and conſcience they will preſently make odd conſtructions of the grant. Some fanſie it a work of God in favour of them towards another turn, and then they will fall in with the firſt opportunity; others ſay, God will not ſuffer their Reformation-work to fail, for they have a ſtock of prophecies and promiſes to aſſure them of ſucceſs; others conclude the granters would not be ſo favourable unto them, unleſs they were ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and therefore let us fall on and proſe-

cute

cute the good old Cauſe, and in a little time all will be our own. But ſuppoſe ſuch moderate projects be put to trial, in the iſſue they will be found unpracticable. They are pretty pleaſant fancies and ſpeculations to the politick contrivers, very ſtrange amuſing things to the vulgar, and fine matters of diſcourſe to the buſie inquiſitive; but when they come in good earneſt to be tranſacted, the matter is ſo perplexed and intricate, ſo many *quæres* are propoſed, ſo many difficulties to be reſolved, ſo many intereſts to be ſerved, that they ſpend time to bring forth a Mouſe, and after much expence of, *&c.* the pitifull projectours break up, are diſſolved, and quite daſhed out of countenance; all the ſatisfaction they can give themſelves, and all the excuſes they can make to others, comes barely to this, They had a good meaning, there was honeſty at the bottom; but men value their intereſts and reputation at ſo high a rate, (as one moderate Sage obſerveth) they will not buy the truth (that's the naked truth indeed) and peace with the loſs and damage of theſe.

9. It is not wiſedom nor ſafe to give toleration to Wolves among Sheep, till they abate their monſtrous uncharitableneſs, renounce their Oaths, and give ſecurity of their good behaviour in not ſeducing others.

This the Leaders of the Puritan Faction will never doe, they are bound by their principles to engroſs Godlineſs and Saintſhip to their party, and by their intereſts never to renounce their Oaths, nor give over their crafts of ſeduction.

10. If new Laws be made more accommodate to our preſent State, yet all care ought to be taken and caution uſed that our Church be not left without ſecurity by Law againſt ſo violent and dangerous a party. For we have little reaſon to believe that they who bid defiance to our preſent Laws, and make ſport with Proclamations, will be perſuaded by gentler means to obey others.

Both the adverſe parties are violent and dangerous, and in the other particulars equally criminal.

11. No true Son of the Church will envy the quiet and ſecurity of innocent and

and peaceable men, when there is aſſurance that by favour received they will not grow more unquiet, but we cannot take too great care to prevent the reſtleſs deſigns of thoſe who aim at nothing more than the undermining and blowing up of our eſtabliſhed Church.

This the Puritans have done, razing down the foundations thereof, even to the ground, and all thoſe who refuſe to ſubſcribe, and give ſatisfaction as to their ſincerity, are labouring with might and main to demoliſh it again. And not it onely, but even to deſtroy Monarchy, and extirpate not onely the Prieſtly but the Kingly Office; For ſo long as the nineteen Propoſitions, the Votes of Non-addreſſes and the Aſſociation appear againſt them, this can be no Calumny. Nay, their aims go higher, than to the blowing up of our eſtabliſhed Church, even to the overthrow of all Religion. For to my apprehenſion there is as great a difference between the Popiſh and Puritanical deſigns, as between the perſecution of *Diocleſian* and *Julian*; the former killed the Prieſts and Chriſtian Profeſ-

ſours, but the latter plotted and endeavoured the deſtruction of the Prieſthood and Chriſtianity it ſelf.

Seeing therefore what Archbiſhop *Whitgift* foretold, Mr. *Fox* foreſaw, Queen *Elizabeth* declared, and King *James* hath obſerved of this Sect, is fully made out in every period of time ſince they prodigiouſly appeared, it were good to follow King *Charles* the Firſt his Counſel, Never to truſt them.

Poſtſcript.

Postscript.

IT is known the foregoing Discourse was prepared seven years ago; if any inquisitive person would be satisfied, why it was not exposed to the publick then, and why now; let him know, it would have been judged unseasonable then, when most mens heads and hearts were full of thoughts about the Popish Plot, which doubtless had wickedness enough in the design, and inward reserves. Some would have said it was uncharitable, because it swells with hard words (as they are commonly phrased) which would have been as hardly censured by those, who favour, or endeavour to palliate the unrighteous dealings of those, who have hardned their hearts against all convictions and reproofs. It will be hard for these men to prove, that it is

sin

ſin to call a Traitour a Traitour, a Schiſmatick a Schiſmatick, a Hypocrite a Hypocrite, though it be impoſſible to prove all that are ſo called to be ſuch indeed. S. *Paul* hath told us there were Traitours in his days, 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. whoſe folly ſhould be manifeſt to all men, *v.* 9. and that after they would wax worſe and worſe, *v.* 13. Now if this great Apoſtle thought ſuch ſhould be detected to their ignominy, a good reaſon ſhould be aſſigned, why our Diſſenters and Republicans with their herd of *Politico's* (who have been Traitours to all intents and purpoſes, if ever there have been any ſuch in any age or quarter of the world) ſhould not be branded with that title they have demerited. The ſame holy Apoſtle termed thoſe of the Conciſion Dogs, *Phil.* 3. 2. becauſe they rent the Church in pieces by their Separation, and may not we beſtow the ſame figure on the Schiſmaticks of this Church, who ceaſe not to ſnarl and bark, and, when they dare, bite and devour the men worthy that is with them in this diſtinguiſhing note, the King and Biſhops with all truly loyal Subjects? What S. *Aug. l.* 3. *adv.*

adv. Pet. c. 83. ſaid of their great Grandſires the Donatiſts, we can ſay of them, When did they ſpare, being able to hurt us? and to the Rogationiſts, *Ep.* 48. You will do poſſibly what you can for our ruin, ſeeing you ceaſe not to be doing when you can doe nothing at all. But I humbly conceive fairer pleas and pretences may be made for the Separatiſts of the Circumciſion, than can be contrived for the preſent Diſſenters; and I believe thoſe Scribes and Phariſees, whom S. *John Baptiſt* called a generation of Vipers, were not a brood of ſo venemous Creatures, as the generality of theſe be. Our Lord and Saviour bids his Diſciples beware of falſe Prophets, as of ravening Wolves; but theſe will never be known ſo as to be marked and avoided, as S. *Paul* exhorts, unleſs ſome marks be ſet upon them; now who ſhould doe this, but they who are charged to diſcover the Wolves, and as Watchmen and Shepherds to give notice of their approach, eſpecially when they appear in their aſſumed counterfeit harmleſs habit? Indeed great zeal is pretended to keep out the Roman Wolf, and ſome over-wiſe pro-

projectours ſeem to think the ſureſt way to effect this, is to let in other grievous Wolves; make an Union, joyn in an Aſſociation and in a defenſive and offenſive League with them, who have once driven this Church into a Wilderneſs; when all *Iſrael* were ſcattered upon the hills as Sheep that had no Shepherd. But others much more wiſe, and truly moderate than they, did believe that would make a ready way for the Conclave Wolf to catch his prey, whereof if he miſſed, we ſhould, under pretence of ſtopping one gap, ſet opén an hundred gates to miſery and confuſion, by bringing in a vaſt number of damnable Hereſies, and an unaccountable Schiſm. It may be remembred, that not long ſince, as the vogue went, there was a deſign to unite the Roman and Reformed Churches, which though it was much more honourable and piouſly Chriſtian, than this ſo lately upon the ſtocks, and as it is to be reaſonably ſuppoſed ſtill endeavoured by double-minded and unſtable men, who are given to change, and by abſurd and unreaſonable men, who count gain godlineſs; yet this way was

was by the troublers of *Iſrael*, cried down as a politick fetch and contrivance for the reduction of Popery; notwithſtanding their great Bell-weather Mr. *Baxter* had declared, that, that deſire of reconciliation with *Rome*, was with ſuch additions, as might bear a tolerable ſenſe, and for his part, he was perſuaded, the Papiſts were as much afraid of King *Charles* (well fare him for this) and the Grotian deſign, as of any thing that of a long time had been hatched againſt them. But whatſoever may be ſaid either againſt, or for that, the late balderdaſh project muſt not take. For we are reſolved to ſtand in defence of our Divine Monarchy, nor will not be contented with a titular Iſle of *Wight* King, who may bear the name, but God knows who ſhould go away with the authority. Neither can we part with our Apoſtolical, Catholick Epiſcopacy to take a day, (it will not be of much longer ſtanding) of truce with thoſe who have forfeited their Faith with God, the King and the Church; nor will we be pleaſed with an ambulatory, or menſtruous Creed, nor with an arbitrary mon-

monſtrous ſuperintendency voted, and unvoted, and revoted backward and forward, according to the ſenſe and intereſts of the Chairman and his crew in S. *Stephen*'s Chapel; Neither will we be ſatisfied or own a civil or common Law hotch-potch Church, according to the device of the Counter-plot (as the three Inventors gave it a Name, one whereof is an outlawed Traitour, the ſecond a Church Trepanner, the third a giddy Changeling.) For I demand, Was the Church of *England*, when Popiſh, a true conſtituted Church according to its firſt ſettlement by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and ſubſequent example of the Primitive Church, becauſe it was ſo eſtabliſhed by Law, or not? If it were, we have done the Papiſts buſineſs, they need not prove us, we have proclaimed our ſelves Schiſmaticks, in ſeparating from a true conſtituted Church by Chriſt's and the Apoſtles order, antecedently ſuch before any humane Sanction; if not, then a legal ſettlement may be Antichriſtian, which in that very reſpect ſtands in great need of a Reformation. For as to attempt a Reformation of that which

is

is founded on Divine Authority, and ſtands by Divine Law, is a contradiction to the indiſpenſable and irrevocable will of the Founder, ſo to reform what hath been introduced by mere humane authority, without any warranty either general or ſpecial from a grant of our Law-giver, is a pious Chriſtian duty, provided that in the management thereof nothing be done repugnant to any other Divine Law, and our duty. But let what can be ſuggeſted for the promotion of this new project, it will be baffled by the two notorious Ringleaders of the Faction. For if Mr. *Baxter*'s onely true way of concord will not paſs, he and his Comrades will be as clamorous and ſtirring, if they dare, as ever. *J. O.* is poſitive, All lawfull things are not to be done for the Churches peace, which quite undoes it.

Confeſſed it muſt be that ſeveral of the Partiſans conceive a full union cannot be expected, yet to comprehend, and condeſcend to thoſe, who will occaſionally and partially conform, may go far towards a peace. In good time! can this be a way to true Chriſtian peace,

peace, when Mr. *Baxter* hath given us fair warning not to truſt them, plainly telling us, *Apol. for Nonconf. p.* 90. they are onely Inſtruments to undermine us, and will turn againſt us, as ſoon as they have opportunity. Neither will their coming to Church, as they deluſorily and hypocritically call it, clear them from the guilt of Schiſm, becauſe this Church being both founded and ſettled upon Divine Right in all its Superſtructures, there ariſes an obligation conſtantly and throughly to communicate with it, and obſerve its Rules and Orders, which not to doe, is ſinfull Separation, and to abett or countenance thoſe who doe not, is to partake of their ſin. For it is not love, devotion or duty which draws them, but cunning, intereſt and fear which drives them to this outward auckward conformity. The beſt any can make of it, its an act of compliance, cannot be an act of Chriſtian allegiance and obedience to lawfull Superiours, which is a work of Faith incorporate with the other good works of Faith, iſſuing from the ſupernatural power of God's Word, Spirit and Grace.

Certain

Certain it is, that unleſs the men for whom this favour is moved, do publickly and honeſtly declare (which is next to a moral impoſſibility that they ever will) that Kingly power is originally and immediately from God, that Prelatical Epiſcopacy is a Divine Apoſtolical Inſtitution, that ſome circumſtances and adjuncts in the external miniſteries of Divine Worſhip not expreſly preſcribed by God may and ought to be adhibited therein for decency, order and edification, they are not to be truſted; and if frequent experiences will not make us ſo wiſe as to neglect them, and all ſuch motions for them, we are fit to be begged and once more undone.

We are yet again efforted with a troop of *tantum nons*, who are ſtill bleating for connivence, forbearance and moderation; which in effect is to ſolicite the Laws be outlawed, though herein they would give better evidence of their moderation and modeſty, if they left that ſolely to the reſolution of the Government. Take theſe we muſt as we find them, and we ſhall find them vary as the wind does, they

can blow hot and cold with one breath, that trimming Proverb is their Rule, There is no living at *Rome*, and fighting with the Pope, and let the Government ſink or ſwim, they will keep themſelves out of harms-way. If poſſible, to make ſure of this world, they will have friends of all parties; for which end, they can at preſent ſwallow the Oath of Allegiance, take the Teſt, and upon another occaſion vomit a fulſome Remonſtrance, Addreſs, or Aſſociation; but by all means they will make infallible proviſions for heaven, in order whereto, if they be in health, they are for the Church, and if in ſafe policy they may, for a Conventicle too; yea from the Church to a Conventicle, and back again; if ſick, they will not refuſe the Offices of the Church, but will admit them *de bene eſſe*; yet for their *tranſire* and *viaticum*, they muſt have a voluntary conceived prayer by a moderate Sneak, who can play faſt and looſe with the Church Offices, and to make ſure work, the Sacrament muſt be re-adminiſtred by one of the ſame batch, or a zealous Holder-forth. In my judg-

ment

ment these of all other Sects are the most dangerous, because the more close and reserved, we cannot say they are either flesh or fish, nor discover whether they be Hawk or Buzzard, they are *animalia imperfectè mixta*; but this we know, much mischief hath hapned by this false disguised, and miscalled moderation; to evidence which, it will be requisite to exemplifie this in some (all are too numerous and would be too bulky) instances, and to give in the opinion of two, who in their times were reputed moderate learned men, and excellent preachers.

1. It hath been mischievous to the Church; The Samosatenian Heresie was brought in under a mistaken charitable pretence to reconcile the Jewish and Christian Religion. The Heresie of the Monothelites was set up on a design to moderate the Heresie of *Eutyches*; The Eusebians propagated the Arian Heresie by their moderate endeavours to compose the difference betwixt them and the Catholicks. Some Novatian Bishops, to satisfie the scruple of a convert Jew, thought fit to leave

it (though the matter of it was an approved practice) as a thing indifferent, which ſoon raiſed a Schiſm, and this Schiſm in a ſhort time begot another. *Theoph. Alex.* favoured the Originiſts in hope to recover ſome at leaſt from that Sect, but S. *Hier.* told him roundly, his moderation therein was very offenſive to holy men, becauſe thereby he emboldned and ſtrengthned the (already) over inſolent and peeviſh Faction. What *Greg. Naz.* got, or rather loſt by his eaſineſs of temper is too large to relate, and ſo it is of many more. Theſe are ſufficient to ſhew, that whoſoever they be that follow ſuch moderate courſes, are in the number of thoſe, who heal the hurt of the daughter of God's people ſlightly, *Jer.* 8. 11. whoſe words will eat as doth a canker, 2 *Tim.* 2. 17. which if it be not ſpeedily remedied will infect the whole body, and prove mortal; they are like thoſe who ſow pillows to all arm-holes, *Ezek.* 13. 18. but moſt like thoſe, *Ez.* 34. 18. who eat up the good paſture (yet cry out ſadly of hunger and perſecution) and tread down the reſidue, who drink of the deep waters, and foul the reſidue with their feet.

2. It

2. It hath reached to civil Dominions too.; Not to ſeek for foreign, we have had too ſad experiences of it at home. It was moderation which ſet all the villanous Factions of the Kingdom a-gog, by the advantages which the State-menders (who certainly never intended thoſe miſerable deſolations which enſued) gave them; this appears, in that when ſome had raiſed the evil Spirit, it was not in their power to lay it, as it hapned to *Titus* his Souldiers at the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*, all his authority could not put a ſtop to their fury. Indeed endeavours were uſed to ſtop that iſſue of bloud which had fatally weakned and conſumed the vitals of the Kingdom then weltering in her gore, by ſome, who generally were very worthy men, yet proved Phyſicians of no value: what occaſioned, or rather cauſed this miſcarriage and ſad conſequence, will be beſt manifeſted by what his late Sacred Majeſty in his Declaration concerning the Treaty of *Oxford* obſerved of them. They had light enough, but wanted heat, they at once diſliked and countenanced the bloudy Rebels, their tameneſs made

them conſiderable, and their too much diſcretion would undoe them; which ſoon hapned, ſo that they who hated them became Lords over them, they were a prey to thoſe of whom the moſt Reverend Primate *Uſher* was wont to ſay, They had Guts enough but no Bowels; and we may truly apply that of *Solomon*, *The tender mercies* [marg. *bowels*] *of the wicked are cruel*, *Prov.* 12. 10. but if their cruelty had been exerciſed onely upon them who had affronted them, the condition of the Kingdom had not been ſo lamentable; but it extended from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, every ſupplanting and ſucceeding Faction taking their turn to pull down and deſtroy whatever was ſacred, venerable or honeſt, that our caſe was perfectly the ſame with thoſe in *Petron. Arb. Omnes nobiſcum aut corvi qui lacerant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur.* Now that the moderate ſet theſe inſtruments on foot, might eaſily be demonſtrated; Dr. *Bates*, *Elench. Mot. p.* 2. has given us the names of ſeveral of them, with a general deſcription of their tempers, humours and qualities.

3. In

3. In our preſent caſe, moderation tends to the diſſolution and ſubverſion of the Government. The Diſſenters are tools and inſtruments of which the Papiſts make great uſe, and theſe moderate are the Abettours, Patrons and Protectours of the Diſſenters; all that can be expected from the moderate in relation to the Government, is in any exigence to leave it in the lurch, if we hope to find from them any real concerns, or faithfull endeavours, to prevent any Conſpiracies or Aſſaults upon it, we are (before we be aware) got to a fools Paradiſe, we ſhall again be at *Ferguſon's* title, *No Popery, no Tyranny*, or at *College's* Motto, *No Popery, no Slavery*, which in the ſenſe of the *Junto's* is no King, no Biſhops, or at beſt, a precarious King and Biſhops; to ſecond which wicked policy moſt of the ſtirring Addreſſers will once more with their lives and fortunes engage to make good all the proteſtations of their traiterous Patriots. It is probable, from *Holoway* and others, though the moderate were not throughly acquainted with the very particulars of the late execrable Conſpiracy, yet, they knew

by clandeſtine correſpondence, and the figure of affairs, ſome deviliſh deſign was a-ſpawning, which they kept cloſe to themſelves, and would have ſtifled it from others, to play their own part according to the ſucceſs or diſappointment of it. The Papiſts could not be ſo dangerous as they are ſuppoſed and too juſtly feared, if the Diſſenters were quelled, becauſe they then would be utterly diſappointed of the many advantages they gain by their Schiſmatical, and rebellious principles and practices; The Diſſenters can never be rampant, unleſs they be emboldned and aſſiſted by the moderate, who by their covetouſneſs, connivence, cowardiſe or hypocriſie, keep their heads above water that they ſink not; and their hearts and hands that they neither faint nor flag. This is notorious, for one bigotted Papiſt there are an hundred over-grown zealot Schiſmaticks, both which labour on all hands to level the Crown and the Church, but for an hundred Schiſmaticks there are a thouſand moderate Mammoniſts, who will never endeavour to ſupport them unleſs upon force

and

and with reluctancy, which when they doe, they doe it perfunctorily, perfidiouſly and ſcarce to half part. This is our hope againſt theſe evil men; he that keepeth *Iſrael* neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps, who hath delivered from ſo great a death, as they have vainly imagined, and doth deliver, in whom we truſt that he will yet deliver us. *Amen.*

4. As this humour hath been miſchievous to the publick, ſo to private perſons amongſt us, who were no way engaged but by prayers and tears for the eſtabliſhed Government. The very excellent Biſhop *Davenant* told Doctour *Ward*, when he ſaw what his and other mens moderation was like to produce, he was aſhamed to live: he with others had oft interceded with the Government for moderation towards the Faction, but now (1641) he ſaw ſuch immoderate courſes taken by them, that the moſt irreligious things were done under pretence of Religion, *Memoires*, *p.* 281. The ſame Authour tells us, Biſhop *Potter* complained, he had lived to ſee himſelf deſpiſed by them he had countenanced; he had interce-

tereeded ſo long for liberty of Conſcience with the King, till he ſaw neither the King nor himſelf could enjoy their own, that he feared the pretenee of Religion would overthrow the reality, and the diviſions of that Age would breed Atheiſm in the next. I could nominate Biſhop *Morton*, *&c.* all reverend, learned and holy men. The King obſerved, that they who counſelled him by a politick moderate Maxime to ſign the Bill for beheading the Earl of *Strafford*, were ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been more haraſſed and cruſhed than they; he onely, *&c.* *Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ*, *c.* 2. This I believe, if it were throughly examined, would be found a certain truth, that all of the nobility (one onely excepted) who ſuffered death for the King and the Church by the Sentence of their Courts of Injuſtice, were ſuch as at firſt took trimming meaſures, leaving us a while to play at Blind-mans-buffet, till we came to cutting of throats. I am ſure there was a Book not long after entituled, *Lex Talionis*, which made ſhrewd diſcoveries.

Second-

Secondly again, I ſhall give you the opinions of the two Divines before hinted, the firſt is Dr. *Preſton*, who thus delivered himſelf in a Sermon on *Numb.* 25. 10, 11. Not onely the great ſins of the profane, but the coldneſs of them that are otherwiſe good, cauſeth the Lord to remove the Candleſtick, the old complaint may be now taken up, The fire which before was hot, is now onely light, and *p.* 291. If we profeſs the cauſe of God, why go we coldly about it? if it be not the cauſe of God, why do we not deſert it? yea but diſcretion and moderation muſt be uſed! It's true, but doth one grace croſs another? Prudence doth not abate our love, but guides it in its labour, as for moderation it ſtands in avoiding the rock, in declining the extremes, but moderation in a good courſe is not moderation but coldneſs and lukewarmneſs. The ſecond is Mr. *Bolton* in his *Gen. direct. for comfortable walking with God, p.* 50. who thus declares, Many unſanctifie themſelves by making moderation a Saint, and undoe their Souls by adoring diſcretion as an Idol. Mode-

ra-

deration and diſcretion truly ſo called and rightly defined, are ornaments to the moſt zealous Chriſtians, but being tempered with coldneſs, and edged againſt the fervency of the Spirit, become the very deſperate cut-throats of the power of godlineſs, a peſtilent conſumption of the ſpirits, heart and life of true zeal. It will be confeſſed, they thus wrote in reference to the Papiſts, who (as they conjectured) were too much favoured; But if the Diſſenters be as dangerous to the Government, and as pernicious to the Souls of thoſe who are taken in their nets, (which plain matter of fact demonſtrates) then theſe cenſures are as applicable to them. For every Schiſm and rebellion carries in its boſome the tranſgreſſion of all God's Commandments, if our Book of *Homilies*, *III. Rebellion* (which *Julian* the Apoſtate thinks the next beſt Book to the holy Bible) inform us aright, and if he, or any other deſigning makebate can ſay worſe of the Papiſts, let them doe it. There is another Authour, who, it ſeems, by the often reprinting of his Book, was once in great credit; it is Mr. *Shepherd*, who, in his *Sincere*

Convert, prin. an. 50. *Ed.* 5*ta. p.* 159. ſpeaks home to the caſe, his words are, Of the nine eaſie ways which men take to heaven, but lead to hell, the eight is that of moderation, or ſober diſcretion; which is nothing elſe, but lukewarmneſs of the Soul, when a man contrives and cuts out ſuch a way to heaven as to pleaſe all and diſpleaſe none, if they be rich eſpecially, or in power. In *p.* 165. he falls heavily upon fawning Miniſters, who in their Sermons do moſtly ſhoot a few pot-guns againſt ſome groſſer ſins, but will not tell them roundly of their *Herodias*, *&c.* and *p.* 207. ſays, Thus they cheat the people by their general dawbing Doctrines, who conclude themſelves to be honeſt religious men, becauſe their Miniſter hath given them a beggarly paſport for heaven, and ſo they go out of this world, and die like Lambs, being wofully cheated. Mr. *Calvin* did not like any ſhould be more moderate than Chriſt our great Exemplar and Lawgiver, who uſed ſeverity upon thoſe who upheld an old cuſtome profanely and for their avarice, at two ſeveral times, *Matt.* 21. 12. *Joh.* 2. 13. which

execu-

execution S. *Hier.* looks upon as an evidence of his miraculous power, in that none made any reſiſtence; and *Muſc.* notes, none before did ever attempt it, though the Law and cuſtome was over-ruled, *Matt.* 11. 13. In ſum the Lay prudential moderate in times of diſtraction and action will for the moſt part (all but the Caballers) ſtand ſtill, as lookers on, till they ſpie the time moſt for their purpoſe, then if the Faction get uppermoſt, they will ſtrike in, go along with it, and to looſe no time will take the advantage of the firſt turn, in their common language and practice. The Clergy will now and then ſpeak of Conformity, making uſe of ſuch arguments as would make an honeſt, well-meaning Soul more averſe; for ſcarce a word comes from them of obeying for Conſcience-ſake, moſtly to ſubmit for the Laws ſake, or Peace ſake, which is to ſay, its good policy at preſent to conform. Again, they will for ſhame of the world ſay ſomething for Loyalty, upon the Fifth of *November*, the Thirtieth of *January* or the Nine and Twentieth of *May* (very rarely at other times, be the occaſi-

occaſions never ſo urgent) and vent ſome general looſe expreſſions, as all parties conſent in, and will ſerve for the purpoſe of a Republick or a Monarchy, for an Uſurper or their natural Liege Lord, and then ſlur over the moſt pernicious principles of Rebellion, and by no means will declare of what denomination they are who aſſert thoſe principles, and purſue the practices conſequential to them; when they ſpeak moſt home, yet to come off fairly with the populace, they have two tricks to pleaſe and to cheat them, the firſt is an Application or Uſe, to make an Harangue againſt Drunkenneſs, Adultery, Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and other univerſally condemned debaucheries; we know their full aim in this, (as they would have it taken) malicious, hypocritical ſlander, the rather becauſe they do not ſay any thing at all againſt lying, ſlandering, pride, malice, covetouſneſs and hypocriſie; which as they are the more reigning, ſo the more dangerous to the Government, and more deadly in their nature, *propter eorum latentiam* (as *Aquinas*) for their cloſe ſculking within the Soul,

Soul, that it ſeldom or never is ſenſible of them; no ſooner have theſe deviliſh deadly ſins taken poſſeſſion, but the poſſeſſed begin to ſettle on their lees, and ever after ſit in the ſeat of the ſcornfull; for then the Conſcience is concerned, and the pretence and privilege of Conſcience hardens them againſt all admonitions and reproofs, *Matt.* 21. 31, 32. The other trick is to cloſe all with an Exhortation, to Union, Charity and Forbearance, wherein if they have a good meaning, it's a pure impertinency; if a bad meaning, it's a piece of hypocriſie, and a ſcurvy reflexion on the Government: both Lay and Clergy will occaſionally talk at a conſiderable rate for Loyalty and Conformity *ad amoliendum periculum*, the danger of the Law, and ſuſpicion of their inſincerity; but on all other occaſions where no danger of Law, as in the Election of Repreſentatives, Impannelling of Juries, hooking in a rich Widow for one of the Tribe, or procuring a confiding cologuing Prieſt to be admitted upon a Vacancy into a Church, they then are tooth and nail for Diſſenters, or ſome moderate Diſſemblers.

It

It may be foreseen with half an eye, some will say, all this needed not to be so tediously and unseasonably superadded; to this it's soon replyed, when the Traitours in *Scotland* had made a large progress in their rebellious courses, some took the liberty to talk freely of the danger this Kingdom was in, the rather because the English Sectaries and Republicans held correspondence with them, as since it hath been evidently proved. Now how was this monition taken and interpreted? Some said they could not believe the English did contribute to those stirs (so Rebellion was smothered) and it was irrational to believe they would; as for the Scots, they did stir, but it was because they in their conceits were oppressed, and under fears and jealousies (by their own guilt if they were so) should be more oppressed; others from which much better (if it had been within) might have been expected, slighted the relation, and censured the relatours to be short-sighted men, wiser men than they knew better things. But I shall here demand, Whether those wise men did apprehend any danger

from theſe ſtirs, or no? If they really did, they were very indifferent men, the trimming humour was predominant in them, they had friends on both ſides, and would not be concerned in either; If they did not, then they were the ſhort-ſighted men. I will not ſay, whoſe eyes the God of this world had blinded, but they were in our Northern expreſſion, moon-blind, or blindfolded: ſhould a man tell theſe wiſe men now, the ſtirs are not yet laid or ended, he would be cenſured; but let them think or ſay their worſt, there is ſome reaſon to perſuade, that in all probability the Conſpiracy is not yet dead, they are in hopes it will revive, for if any diſcourſe thereof, they may obſerve the wiſe ſober men uſe ſuch ſhruggs, and make ſuch faces, their very countenance and motions betray them, but over and above we know, it's not Conſcience but deſign which keeps theſe men from a full ſubmiſſion to the Government and obedience to the Laws; they are men of intereſt, have working brains, and would never ſtick to give the Government all ſatisfaction, if they did not hope to effectu-

effectuate their designs at long run. This the wise sober men will not deny, that they who are dull, heavy and averse in the execution of Law, when the King and Law is for them, will never be forward and active to promote the publick peace, interest and tranquillity, when the case is hazardous, and King and Law like to be oppressed.

But it will be demanded, how will you come off in this bold adventure of exposing these men of renown (such as *Corah*'s Complices) whom wise and good do caress and complement? If they do so I cannot help it, but for my own part, I think they ought to be exposed, for these reasons,

1. That all *Israel* may hear and fear, and doe so no more.

2. The most probable way to keep out Popery, is to keep down Puritanism. The right reverend Bishop *Hall* observed, None gained by the seditious divisions and practices in this Realm but Hell and *Rome*, the Devil and the Pope; and if these men be countenanced and permitted to follow

their old ways, we may expect the ſame fate; they that court them, or but dally and play at bo-peep with them, do not onely encourage but tempt them to perſiſt in their perverſeneſs and obſtinacy, which is as great a kindneſs and ſervice as the Pontifician Politicoes can deſire or can be done for them. *Contzen's Politicks, l.* 2. cited in *Fair Warning, part.* 2. *c.* 2. *Sect.* 1. As much advantage is to be made by the Proteſtants diſagreements as of the Papiſts concord, to extirpate Proteſtants, *p.* 33. This was the Popiſh old Plot by *Campanella* in his Book *De Monarchia Hiſpan.* to deſtroy our Monarchy, and was followed by Cardinal *Richlieu* in his advice which he gave a little before his death to the French King; and for the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, *Io Pæan's* were ſung at *Rome*, and Father *Sibthorp* upon the firſt diſcovery of that reſolution in his Letter to Father *Medcalf*, ſaid, Now they are pulling down that Wall which at once adorned and defended their way. Mr. *Baxter* was of the ſame deſtructive opinion; for as he did agree with Father *White* in pulling

down

down the Bulwark of Monarchy; ſo with Father *Sibthorp* to pull down the Wall of Epiſcopacy: onely with this difference, that Father *Sibthorp* would endeavour to pull it down becauſe it both adorned and defended the Church; but Mr. *Baxter* was for demoliſhing the Wall, becauſe (in his account) it was a Wall of Separation; and thereupon reſolved to doe the beſt he could, while he lived, to pull it down, and to make it the moſt earneſt action of his life to prevent the re-building of it, Mr. *Baxt.* 3d. *Defence, Part* 2d. *p.* 84. Now it will be confeſſed, that if *Rome* got any thing the Devil gained too.

3. The Devil, the firſt Schiſmatick and Rebel, will ſtill endeavour to make as many as he can by his ſerpentine wiles to be as bad and miſerable as himſelf, neither will he ſuffer thoſe whom he hath once taken Captive at his pleaſure to loiter in his ſervice, but keep them at hard duty; neither are there any more captivated by him, than thoſe who ſerve him in a Rebellion, wherein they fight his Battels under God's Colours; for this is like the ſin of Witchcraft, once a

Witch, always a Witch, once a Rebel, always a Rebel. I have read it as a Maxime in Law, *Semel malus ſemper malus in eodem genere mali*; and we have reaſon to believe our old and late Rebels will never relent. For,

4. They cannot endure to hear any thing ſpoken of Rebellion, they ſit uneaſie when that Theme is proſecuted home; all their aims are, not to appear what they are, and to appear what they are not, their buſineſs in the world is to carry fair, (in their own cant) and therefore it's no hard meaſure to pay them what they have deſerved; if wiſe and learned good men have forbore to reflect on them, they are either ſuch who have not ſeen, or felt their ſtudied arts of barbarous cruelties and impieties, and they may give looſers and ſufferers leave to ſpeak; or ſuch, who are ſwayed with a tranſport of good nature, and exceſs of a miſtaken prepoſterous charity; but by their good leave to gratifie a few roving Privateers to the prejudice and detriment of the publick is no office of charity, nor act of prudence. King *James* hath told us, Good

deeds

deeds will never gain them; we are ſure ever ſince they have been fruitleſs: It's very unlikely then good words, which are but wind, will ever doe it; and if neither good words nor good deeds will ſtill them, an experiment of hard words and deeds may doe the feat, at leaſt ſtop them in their carier. To fob them up with ſoft words, is a way, as to flatter them, ſo, to keep up their credit and reputation with the multitude and common ſort of people, which as it is to doe half their work for them, ſo to render the Government odious and ſuſpected. Doubtleſs when they tell us they are his Majeſty's moſt faithfull, loyal and obedient Subjects, and then upon the firſt opportunity break out into open Rebellion, we may truly call them Traitours and Hypocrites, which are as hard words as can be uſed, and if they may not be uſed, they were invented to no purpoſe. But to ſalve the matter, ſome have found out a moderate way of compounding it, by joyning an hard and ſoft word together, calling them diſſenting Brethren. For as the former is a very ungratefull,

unſociable and offenſive word, ſynonymous to Recuſant, Separatiſt and Schiſmatick; the other is a ſweet, pleaſant and comfortable appellative. Now I cannot yet underſtand why the ſame may not be attributed to Romaniſts, unleſs partiality or popularity prevail too much. For the relation is founded either on Nature, Profeſſion or Office, which are the common ways of appropriating that title, but they are our Brethren by Nature, as Men, by Profeſſion, as Chriſtians, (Dr. *Burnet* confeſſes them to be ſo) and ſure I am they are Miniſters of the Goſpel by deſignation and Function, ſo that a reaſon ſhould be rendred why Father *Garnet*, *Creſwell*, *Oldcorn*, *Whitebread* and *Gawen* may not be dubbed Brethren as well as *Smectymnuus*, Brother *Baxter*, *Owen*, *Lob*, or *Ferguſon*. If Idolatry deſtroy the Fraternity on one ſide of the Houſe, Sacrilege will on the other; if poſitive Superſtition break off the Brotherhood on the one hand, negative will on the other; if the Colliers Creed make us aſhamed of the relation, the no Creed, or no Determinate, will give us occa-

ſion

ſion to grieve and mourn: if an implicite Faith in the Church, or a blind obedience to the Pope, make us like to Horſe and Mule which have no underſtanding, then it will ſo happen, if we reſign our reaſon to the reſolutions of a pack of Demagogues; unleſs we at laſt be contented the Pope's Chair be removed to the Speaker's at *Weſtminſter*, with a *Nemine Contradicente*. But to ſhut up all, it's an hard caſe when men will cenſure others in that wherein they themſelves are faulty. For theſe mellow ſoft Souls, when they are pinched or twitted, make uſe of words as hard in ſenſe, though not ſo harſh in ſound, and can for a Friend's ſake ſmother, ſtifle and excuſe their hard deeds; as if we were ſain back into *Jeoffrey Chaucer*'s days, when words were ſins, but deeds were not. However, if any think I have been too rude or bitter againſt thoſe whom I believe upon good grounds to be dough-baked Ephraamites, King-haters, Church-Mountebanks, Interlopers, Barratours, a moſt prodigiouſly ungratefull profligate Sect, let them, I ſay, who think ſo, prove it by good authority

thority and reaſon, I will confeſs and amend; which is all the Reformation I yet know is needfull to them who live, and are reſolved (by God's grace) to die, in the Communion of this moſt Chriſtian, Apoſtolical Catholick Church.

James 1. 10.

A double minded man is unſtable in all his ways.

Ecclus. 2. 12.

Wo be to fearfull hearts, and faint hands, and the ſinner that goeth two ways.

THE END.

ERRATA.

PAge 27 *ult.* after *Sylvanus* add a full point, and *dele &c.* p. 34. 10. for *Bidell* r. *Videli.* p. 35. 1. after *martyr'd* add *was. ib.* 21. r. *Æra.* p. 40. 27. r. *Heming.* 41. 18. after *day dele* full point. 42. 2. r. *Caranz. ib.* l. 15. after *find* add *in.* p. 46. 9. r. *in moderate S. Aug.* 60. 26. r. *Tithes.* 77. 3. for *blame* r. *clann.* 78. 21. for *its* r. *which.* 84. 7. *del. for.* 96. 23. r. *Evariſtus.* 101. 18. *del. an honeſt.* 102. *penul.* r. *Weir.* 116. *antepen.* r. *judaicall.* 119. 3. *for, all* r. *date.* 124. 16. add, *to whom.* 131. 26. r. *preſide.* 133. 5. r. *Martin. in his Lexicon.* 139. 10. r. *their Lord.* 145. 12. r. *at their own, &c. ib.* l. 18. *dele eſpecially.* 150. 26. for *by admitting* r. *for removing an incon. &c.* 182. 11. r. *miſnomered.* 189. 5. r. *Royaliſts.* 205. 6. for *expoſed* r. *oppoſed.*